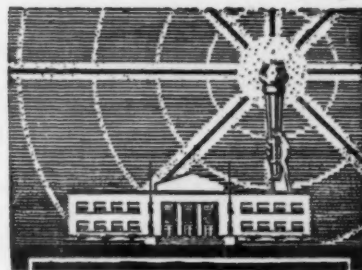


THE SOCIAL STUDIES



A PERIODICAL
FOR TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS

VOLUME XLVII, NUMBER 8

DECEMBER, 1956

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As the Editor Sees It

The first week of November, during which this is being written, has provided a full budget of significant lessons for social studies teachers. There should be no lack of student interest, either. It is to be devoutly hoped that no teacher has doggedly confined his daily classes to a study of the War of 1812 or the economic resources of Patagonia, just because his well-worn lesson plans called for it. There are too many good examples of basic social reactions in the recent news not to make good use of them.

Take, for example, the overwhelming victory of President Eisenhower on November 6. It had been generally predicted, but not by such a wide margin. Unquestionably the disturbing foreign news of the previous few days contributed heavily to Mr. Eisenhower's totals. Many people evidently felt that in a time of such great uncertainty, they preferred a man with the President's military and broad international experience. Mr. Stevenson, with his denunciation of the hydrogen bomb tests, overnight found himself in the position of a jockey whose horse drops dead in the homestretch. In short, people are reluctant to abandon the known and the proven for the untried in a time of crisis. This is emphasized by the fact that Eisenhower ran far ahead of the local Republican ticket in many places.

The election again proved a time-tested political truism,—that the people will not oust an administration in a time of general and increasing prosperity. The Republicans played on this theme in the campaign joke about the man who asserted that he would vote for Stevenson. When asked why, he answered, "Well, I voted for him in '52, and I've never had it so good!" There is much for students to think about in the interplay of human nature and politics.

There is much for them to think about, too,

in the unresolved (at this writing) crises in Egypt and Hungary. For one thing, it will be easy for them to become cynical about it all. They see Egypt seize by decree the 90-year-old Suez Canal and threaten to make it an instrument of national policy. They see France and Britain balked by world opinion and the fear of Russia from attempting to recapture it. Suddenly, a few days after rebellions break out in several Russian satellites, Israel risks an Arab war and boldly invades Egypt. Instantly Britain and France attack Egypt and recapture the Canal "to prevent war." By the time the protests of the United Nations can be heard, all three states cheerfully agree to a cease-fire,—but Nasser no longer controls the Canal.

Our pupils read that Russia strongly denounces this act of aggression and demands that something be done about it. But in the same newspaper they read how Russian invading forces have wrought great havoc in putting down a rebellion in the "sovereign" state of Hungary, a fellow-member of the U.N. The Soviet spokesman can, in fact, hardly enunciate clearly his diatribe against western gluttony because his mouth is so full. As our pupils read further, they find that truth seems to wear different faces, depending on where one views it. India and its anti-western associates in the U.N. vote whole-heartedly to condemn the aggressors in Egypt, but abstain from casting a vote against Russia's far more brutal conduct. On the other hand, important organizations of Jewish Americans roundly denounce Russia, but loudly uphold Israel's action as obvious self-defense.

The thinking teacher will find all these things as grist for his educational mill. To learn about people, one must study them under stress. It may well be that these are times to abandon the textbooks and use the current drama for material to learn about our fellow men.

The Radio Free Europe and the Satellities

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In February, 1956, Soviet Russia formally protested about American balloons floating over the satellites and Soviet Russia. The Soviet Union claimed that the balloons were violating international law and were a hostile action by the United States. Secretary Dulles sent a note to the Soviet Union, explaining that the balloons were part of a world-wide weather survey. The American response was not made public to the Soviet people.

As a matter of fact, propaganda balloons had been and have been sent over the satellite and Soviet territory, but not a word was said about them in the official communications. Possibly, the Soviet authorities did not want to acknowledge the effectiveness of these pro-American balloons. The State Department, at the same time, can formally claim that it has no official connection with this pro-Western propaganda. At any rate, the arguments suggested how much the Soviet authorities are being irritated by this type of pro-Western propaganda, and the protests were but another round in the persistent efforts of the communists to stop the effectiveness of the propaganda carried on by Free Europe Committee.

Origins of Radio Free Europe

Free Europe Committee was organized in 1949 by a group of private citizens (Joseph C. Grew, A. A. Berle, Jr., John C. Hughes, Whitney H. Shepardson, Henry R. Luce, etc.) who decided to start positive action against Soviet enslavement. Since 1949, the organization has expanded in several directions; it maintains headquarters in New York City (110 West 57 St., New York 19), and in Munich. Its goals were eventually defined as follows: to pierce the Iron Curtain with messages of moral and practical value through the facilities of Radio Free Europe and Free Europe Press, thus taking the fight into the enemy's camp; to build

for the future by working with young refugees from communism and by preserving the cultural heritage of the past which the Soviets are seeking to destroy; to develop political unity and a dynamic platform of aims and principles among exile groups in the United States; to assemble, analyze and distribute knowledge about current conditions in the captive area; and to create active public support, both moral and material, for these undertakings.

We shall limit our discussion, however, only to the workings and the evaluation of the results of this work as carried on mostly from Munich (which the author had a chance to analyze during his visit to Germany in April-May, 1956).

The roots of the present organization in Munich go back to July 4, 1950, when the first broadcast was sent from the woods of Lampertheim (near Frankfurt); a mobile 7,500 watt short-wave transmitter housed in 7 trailer vans was first employed. All program material was then prepared in the New York studios and flown into Germany daily.

Shortly thereafter a permanent installation was started to replace the mobile unit; and eventually the mobile 7,500 watt Lampertheim transmitter (known as "Barbara") was sent to Lisbon; today it is one of the largest transmitting plants in existence. Because of the city's proximity to satellite countries, Munich became the headquarters and the studio is located there.

Present Operations

Radio Free Europe is a weapon in the battle for men's minds. Today 29 transmitters are shattering the "Iron Curtain" isolation that the Kremlin has been imposing on the people of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria. The basic aim of RFE is to help the captive peoples in their struggle to regain their

national freedom and personal liberties and thus defeat the purposes of the communists.

The theory underlying this propaganda work is that the most effective weapon in this struggle is the simple truth and hard facts, constantly used to expose conditions within the Soviet orbit that the communists prefer to hide from the people. The truth is also used to spread dissent among the communists themselves, thus disrupting the Party's machinery and reducing its power over the people.

The broadcasts are carried on around the clock in the satellite languages; each is transmitted over 6 or 8 radio stations simultaneously on different wave lengths. If one of these transmitters is "jammed" by satellite authorities at any particular time, then the listener may choose several other stations over which he may receive a given program.

The programs compete with regime stations for listeners of all segments of the population: workers, peasants, youth, women, civil servants, security police, armed forces and other special groups. They include news, music, drama, variety, satire, interviews, forums, sports, religious services, etc. Stress is laid on the national culture and the immediate day-to-day problems of the satellite people.

The material used is mainly derived from the information secured from behind the Iron Curtain. RFE maintains 3 separate receiving sites, each of which makes two readings per hour on each of the 23 FRE target transmitters daily throughout 20 hour broadcasts. Berlin reports on the Polish transmissions; Vienna on Czech and Hungarian programs; Istanbul monitors the Romanian and Bulgarian broadcasts. The monitoring section is the ears of the RFE. By listening to the home transmissions of radio stations behind the Iron Curtain, the broadcasts which the communist regimes beam to their own people, RFE gathers very valuable information about the internal conditions of the satellites, the propaganda tactics of the communists and, by reading "between the lines," the reaction of the satellite people.

A key factor in RFE's broadcasts is the Central News Room, the collection and distribution agency for news. It provides the "language but also for commentaries and for programs

beamed to the various levels and sections of each country. This office distributes to the language desks an average of 200,000 to 250,000 words, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. Newscasts (every hour on the hour), and other topical programs or announcements are done "live," and recorded for possible "repeat."

The backbone of new information is also provided by refugee interviews, 550 newspapers and magazines from the Iron Curtain, and 15,000 books from the satellite countries; this material is processed by the staff of 46 evaluation experts and translators, who assess its reliability. From this source material, plus independent research and on the spot coverage of special events, RFE's 115 editor-writers, teamed with producers, actors, announcers, composers, musicians, researchers, and free lance contributors, create 184 hours of original programs weekly.

Persistently the listeners are reminded of their power of inherent strength, in contrast to the weaknesses of communist regimes which rely on terror to maintain their power; they are also continually informed of the strength of America and other free nations, of the need for all people of the world, who want peace with dignity and freedom, to unite against the tyranny of communism. This, in turn, is aimed to undermine the Soviet-imposed regimes of Central-Eastern-Balkan Europe by spreading dissent among the communists, and the creation of a wholesome fear of retribution among those who refuse to purge themselves of their crimes against their countrymen.

The Measuring of Effectiveness

What is the effectiveness of this type of propaganda? This question is studied on a day-to-day basis by RFE's Audience Analysis Section (by Dr. R. C. Sorensen, a sociologist, who recently joined the Munich staff as the head of the section). It uses two basic criteria: (1) reaction by the communist regimes and their propaganda organs; and (2) positive reaction to RFE programs on the part of the listening audience. Violent reactions by the communist regimes in their radios and in newspapers, plus formal protests to the United States and other Western countries, indicate that the RFE is desks" with material not only for newscasts

one of the selected enemies of communist vituperation.

How "Balloons" Fight Communism

We shall now turn to the propaganda work carried on by RFE by "balloons" which have been the real thorn in the Soviet side.

FEP adds the effectiveness of the printed word to the arsenal of psychological warfare weapons. High-altitude balloons carrying millions of newspapers and leaflets, which cascade down into the target countries of Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, are launched on the prevailing westerly winds over the Iron Curtain.

This "Operation Balloon" started on May 1, 1954, when the first of millions of pieces of printed material started to fall into Czechoslovakia from high altitude balloons launched from Western Germany. During the next two years, more than 212 million pieces of printed matter were delivered across the Iron Curtain in some 353,000 balloons. Small leaflet newspapers have been sent in editions of 2 million every 2 weeks, with articles varying from the *New York Times* to President Eisenhower's press conferences. Or, people in Poland received, from the skies, a 40-page booklet containing the revelations of the former member of the Polish Security Police, Josef Switzlol, who had escaped to the West with some of the Communist Party's embarrassing secrets.

These balloons seem to bother the communist authorities a great deal. Their army and jet planes have been employed to shoot them down. Squads of police and soldiers, and even school children, are employed to collect the leaflets, which, from the American point of view, are inoffensive. They carry factual reports on the events in the West; they also carry on "internal reporting" upon the developments within the satellites. (But note, also, that no leaflet has called upon the satellite peoples to risk arrest or to commit dangerous or illegal acts). In short, the balloons provide the materials on the facts which the communist masters cannot afford to release and the information on the developments of the West which the satellite masters are distorting in their reports.

The Mechanics of Balloon Sending

It was a fascinating experience when we

visited one such "balloon center" at Fronau in Western Germany, near Salzburg. After the plotting of favorable winds by the Free Europe Press in Munich, the balloons were released on the basis of data which give accurate information for the areas where the leaflets will fall and the time of arrival. Three types of balloons are used. The rubber balloon, with leaflets, is carried by the winds as it rises to high altitude (30,000 to 40,000 feet); it expands as it rises, and depending on its load, bursts at a predetermined point and showers its leaflets to the earth. The smaller plastic balloon, the size of an ordinary pillow case, also contains leaflets and expands as it rises, but instead of bursting, it springs a leak. The leakage of gas causes the balloon to settle slowly to the ground; it then delivers its load of leaflets intact, inside the waterproof container. The larger plastic balloon carries leaflets inside a paperboard container suspended below; under this is an envelope containing dry-ice ballast; the release of paper occurs when the dry-ice ballast is exhausted. This upsets the balance of the paperboard container, which dumps the leaflets. This ballast system enables the balloon to rise to a specific altitude and "float there on favorable winds. The use of the dry ice as ballast permits the timing of release according to the rate of sublimation.

The evaluation section of the RFE constantly checks on the effects of this "balloon propaganda," providing statistics from the "comments" of the "readers" (the satellite people) and the "critics" — (the communists). These reactions can be partly found in the letters from men, women, and children of all ages and description reaching, one way or another, the Free Europe Committee, and partly from hundreds of refugees who are interrogated shortly after they cross the Iron Curtain. Basically, the best proof of the effectiveness of this pro-Western propaganda has been provided by numerous cartoons, movies, short plays, poems, speeches, decrees, and articles and editorials from behind the Iron Curtain, attacking the "Operation Balloon." Obviously, this "Operation" has succeeded in becoming a potent weapon in the war for men's minds.

The Persistence of the Problem of Federalism

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Historians often point to various "threads" that run through America's past and give it meaning. It is proposed herein to speak of one such theme which, in view of contemporary events, needs restating. I refer to the problem of federalism. Perhaps some analysis of this constant may be of service to teachers of secondary-school courses in history by helping them to organize their ideas and, thereby, to make the American story understandable.

Had England been able to establish one vast dominion or colony along the Atlantic seaboard, instead of thirteen provinces, the problem of federalism would not exist. Colonization did not take place that way; multiplicity rather than unity resulted. Then, within the area of each of the thirteen provinces, thirteen states were organized. In that way, what some political thinkers have called the "bane" of state-rightism was born, and it continued to embarrass and bother the American people thereafter.

It is saying nothing new to assert that this federal problem was a fundamental, if not the fundamental, cause of the American Revolution. The British Cabinet and Parliament, by enacting tax and other laws to control American Englishmen, were motivated by a theory which implied a unitary empire; that is to say, final power or sovereignty rested at London in the Parliament. In their view, it did not matter that colonials were not actually represented in Parliament; for, as Englishmen they were virtually represented because Parliament had legislative power over all subjects whether in the homeland or in a colony. Parliamentary authority did *not* end at the water's edge; and that was that.

The contrary view—once that view was analyzed and delineated by colonials—affirmed that the empire was not unitary, but federal;

that is to say, power or sovereignty was divided; some of it (over foreign affairs, imperial trade, military and naval matters, internal conditions in the United Kingdom, for example) undoubtedly belonged to Parliament; some of it (over internal colonial affairs, like direct taxation) rested with each provincial legislature, and not with Parliament.

"No taxation without representation" did not, to American colonials, mean what has been taught so frequently, namely, that all they wanted was representation in Parliament and then they would pay the taxes imposed by Parliament. Intelligent colonial theorists would not touch that idea with a ten-foot (intellectual) pole because it would give their entire case away. The small delegation of colonials in the Commons—thirteen or a few more—would all vote "Nay" when a colonial tax bill came up; then it would pass by a heavy English majority. Now the colonials would have their representation and would be obliged to abide by the tax.

To accept such a scheme would be ridiculous, showing the colonials to be feckless dolts who could be fooled by the specious arguments of clever Englishmen. The Americans, however, were not dolts; they were easily as intelligent as their English countrymen. What they meant when they coupled taxation and representation was that they should be taxed only where they already had the representation, in other words, in their own assemblies. In talking that way, the colonials were asking for a federal empire in which sovereignty was divided: some at London and some in each colonial capital.

There grew up in Patriot minds a kind of monstrous ogre; sometimes they spoke of "London," sometimes of the "Cabinet," sometimes of the "Parliament," later of the "King," as "foreign enemies" who were trying to impose

upon colonial rights. These colonial rights included complete sovereign powers over all internal affairs in each colony; taxation, the most advertised source of friction, was by no means the only example.

Hence the contest shaped up as one between colonial rights and imperial rights. And that is what we mean when we say the American Revolution was caused by a disagreement over where power or sovereignty lay. Most Englishmen denied that some inherent sovereignty could exist in each colony. Had not each one been established at the will of the mother country? How could any colony have powers, inherent or otherwise, unless England agreed to hand the powers over?

On the other hand, if the colonies could have had their way without a Revolution, the resulting empire would have been composed of fourteen equal parts, each part owning the same internal sovereignty as the others, and, let us say, New York's Parliament exercising no more power over the internal affairs of England than England's Parliament exercised over internal affairs in New York. All fourteen would be internally autonomous, bound together into a kind of personal union by a common allegiance to one ruler. George III would be King of Pennsylvania, King of Virginia, and so on, in addition to being head of the United Kingdom.

The colonial argument did not appeal to the mother country, and the Revolution ensued. Upon winning their independence, Americans faced a constitutional problem not unlike that which they had confronted as provincials. Gaining the victory in the War of the Revolution released the thirteen colonies from English sovereignty, but it did not release them from the question where the sovereignty lay. Even during the conflict Washington's soldiers froze and starved because an exaggerated sense of state rights prevented payment by the states of their share of the war costs; as a consequence the weak Congress could not feed or clothe its armies properly.

The first effort of the newly independent country to solve this problem—by belatedly accepting the Articles of Confederation—was admittedly a failure. Cynics might well have asked: If the Americans could not deal with sovereignty any better than it was handled in the Articles, then why did they revolt? More

important than what cynics might have said is the reason for the lack of success.

The explanation is not hard to find. In this first experiment, constitutional theorists carried their ideas of federalism to an illogical extreme—so extreme in fact that they hardly created a common government at all. In order to make impossible the establishment of a centralized organ of authority as Parliament tried to be, the creators of this first Union government pushed the pendulum too far in the other direction. So much sovereignty was retained by the states that the general government, called the Confederation, was a mere league. The Fathers of this first constitution of the United States divided sovereignty surely enough, but they divided it so unevenly that about ninety per cent remained with the states and the rest went to the common government. Obviously this was as bad a sharing as existed before 1776 under England. States possessing such a high degree of power produced chaos, not only by weakening Washington's military efforts, but also by invading one another, by refusing to cooperate, by failing to pay taxes, and by endangering the very independence which was won at so much cost.

The second effort, in 1787, to deal with the question of federalism was more successful. In fact it had to be if the American experiment was not to founder. The Fathers of this, the second constitution for the Union, succeeded in obtaining enough power from the individual states and transferring it to the new federal government as to constitute a real political entity with actual authority. The government of the United States after 1789 was no longer a mere league, dependent upon the whims of cantankerous states. The new system had power in its own right because it could coerce citizens directly. The secret of the improvement lay in the fact that the division of sovereignty was not so lop-sided. If the previous ratio could be estimated as ninety to ten in favor of the states, it was now closer to fifty-fifty.

Although a number of believers in unitary government were not satisfied that the new regime had been granted enough strength, it was generally felt by the majority of the delegates (known as federalists) that as much power had been extracted from the states as

was politically possible; and that if the states' sovereignty was reduced any further the document would never be ratified. As a matter of fact the decrease in state prestige was a very serious obstacle: How to persuade the jealous states to carry out the self-abnegatory policy of willingly giving up their monopoly over sovereignty?

As is well known, the conflict was bitter in several of the larger states; strategic ones like New York and Virginia were hard to convince. Nevertheless, by hook or crook, eleven states (a few of them reluctantly) agreed to the sacrifice, and the new government got started in the spring of 1789. It took some more convincing and even some threatening to bring in the two recalcitrants, North Carolina and Rhode Island.

The fear of the Fathers that granting more power to the new government at the expense of the states might endanger the entire reform movement was thus proved to be justified; for the fight to ratify the document was won in one or two states by such narrow margins that he who reads about it today cannot help feeling how tragically near to defeat the campaign for ratification came. Suppose several important states had refused to give up some of their powers? Could the American experiment have succeeded? Was there any future for the country? There is hardly any doubt that the answer to the last two queries is "No."

The exaggerated state-rights dogma of the time, therefore, precluded any final settlement of the vexing problem of federalism which had been roiling American affairs since well before the Revolution. To be sure, enough had been accomplished to enable the nation to live, to grow, and to prosper for several generations; as it turned out, the country received a lease on life that lasted until 1860, when once again the old question had to be faced.

The proof that the problem had not been completely solved is evident from the fact that nowhere in the Constitution of 1787 did the Fathers dare to assert outrightly, in black and white, that a real national government was being created; or that, while the states still had rights, they did *not* have the rights of refusing to obey a federal law and of exercising the privilege of seceding. These matters were left hanging, unsolved, for future generations

to struggle over; in perspective, we can now see that the inability of the Fathers to settle such questions once and for all in 1787 led directly to Gettysburg. But to say so is using hindsight, and the Fathers cannot justly be criticized for not doing what they could not do.

Thus the old enemy, while less belligerent, still was available at a moment's notice for any disgruntled group to employ. In fact state rights were so used, from almost the beginning of Washington's first administration. Under new names, the old federal problem was still a very real one. Only now the "villain" was Congress rather than Parliament; the royal government was now the federal government; and colonial rights were now called state rights. The issue, however, remained constant. The French have the words for it: *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose*.

In the first instances, state rights were used to keep the power of the federal government weak, in accordance with Jefferson's theory that that government governs best which governs least. In Washington's time, the Jeffersonians denied that acts to create the United States Bank and to enact a tariff were constitutional. This was saying simply that the states had not transferred to the Congress the power to establish banks or to pass tariff acts. Show us, said they, in black and white, where such authority was given to Congress. Surely when such an idea was expressed, there must have been philosophical, not to say sarcastic, observers who asked where they had heard that one before. Was it not a restatement, under new conditions, of the old plea: Where does Parliament get the power to tax us? When had the thirteen colonies transferred such rights? Only now Madison and Jefferson were asking: When had the states transferred bank and tariff powers to Congress?

In that way, during the earliest days of the new era, the ugly head (to use an overworked but expressive term) of state-rightism raised itself again. It was revived more dangerously in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions where Jefferson and Madison maintained that, inasmuch as the states had never granted to Congress any powers over free speech and press, the states should either "nullify" such an unconstitutional act as the Sedition Law, or else

"interpose" between their people and Congressional "infractions" of the Constitution.

Both parties used state-rights arguments to oppose any move which they did not like. The Federalists declared (and even Jefferson at first was inclined to agree) that the purchase of Louisiana was unconstitutional because the power to annex territory had not been granted to the federal government. Federalists used the same approach during the period of the Embargo Act and the War of 1812. In the latter instance, the state-rights attitudes of certain New England governors actually impeded the progress of the war. They asked where in the Constitution President Madison had been granted by the states any control over their militia.

Soon Southerners were employing state-rights ideas to defend their sectionalistic interests. Georgia's Governor G. M. Troup said President John Quincy Adams had no power to interfere with the state's reserved sovereignty over its Indian lands. South Carolina, implementing Calhoun's philosophy as expressed in his *Exposition*, maintained that the states had never transferred to Congress the right to pass tariff acts, especially tariff acts that hurt South Carolina's cotton business. Therefore that state tried to "nullify" the tariff, and in so doing, repeated in effect the action of anti-tax agitators of the colonies *vis-à-vis* Parliament.

Next the South turned to state-rights doctrines to defend its peculiar institution, slavery. This wedding of slavery and state rights had indeed been anticipated in the Missouri hassle of 1820, when the House of Representatives wanted to prohibit further introduction of slavery into Missouri, and the Senate demanded admission of the state without restriction.

Using state rights to protect slavery gave to the ancient federal issue a kind of emotionalism which progressively made more impossible any reasonable approach to a solution on the part of either southern fire-eaters or northern abolitionists. The federal problem entered the moral realm, where settlement other than by force became less and less acceptable. In 1850 the last effort was made to meet the problem as it had been met in the past (1820, 1833), namely, by evasion, by circumvention, and by compromise. After 1850 both major parties entered a conspiracy of silence by which it was

agreed that the Compromise of that year was final; the evil was to be wished away by not speaking of it. The events after 1854 proved, however, that it could not be solved by a process of hearing, seeing, and speaking no evil.

By 1860 solution by compromise proved impossible. The country had reached that point where its growth would cease unless the matter was adjusted. The dispute now cut so deeply into the fabric of American society that it could no longer be glossed over by agreeing to disagree. With vast areas of the West to be populated, the question whether the federal government had been granted the power to prohibit slavery from the territories emerged as such a vital problem that neither section felt it could back down without losing its own integrity and identity. Further peaceful development was no longer practical, as was being shown in "Bleeding Kansas."

The way in which the federal issue became interwoven with the slavery debate is demonstrated by the question which Southerners asked: Did the Constitution give to Congress the power to make territories free? Or was slave property a matter to be dealt with by the states? Southerners insisted the latter was the answer. The Dred Scott decision stated that Congress had no authority to keep slavery out of the territories; Southerners agreed. Their contentions remind one very strongly of the colonial argument that nobody gave Parliament (or its agent, the Cabinet) the power to prohibit settlers from going into the transmontane West as had been done in the Proclamation of 1763.

When Lincoln averred the country could not exist permanently half slave and half free, he might just as well have said that the country could not permanently exist with half the people believing in nationalism and half of them believing in state rights. For, if half the country thought the authority to deal with slavery was a matter for state determination, and half declared for federal determination, the nation might well get involved in an internecine war which could end the American experiment. A war, in fact, is actually what did result.

The issue could not be resolved by peaceful argument and compromise any more because it seemed too vital to each side; both were will-

ing to lose thousands of their young men in a four-year struggle to prove their points. No wonder the Fathers in 1787 veered away from taking a stand on the question. Their caution can be defended as wise at least in this sense: the country won about seven decades (1789-1860) of comparative peace during which it grew to maturity, extended to the Pacific Coast, and developed a strong economy. When the disagreement had to be settled by arms after 1860, at least the northern section of the nation was economically strong.

After Lincoln's election, the southern states insisted they had retained the right of secession when they ratified the Constitution. Such a philosophy was a strict return to that which supported the Articles of Confederation: we are in a league of independent states which can de-ratify the Constitution at any time, and there is nothing in that document saying the states gave up the privilege of peaceful withdrawal from the Union. In fact, declared southern state-righters, a peaceful break-up of the Union was provided for by the very method in which the Constitution was ratified; that is to say, we who created it have the right to uncreate it. If the federal government moves against us, it will be the aggressor, not we.

By force of arms, at Gettysburg and elsewhere, some of the most dangerous aspects of the old issue were dealt with, but the Union victory in the war did not bury the evil entirely. As long as the states still had many rights (which no one doubted they did) the conflict might rise again. So far as the Civil War was concerned in allaying the trouble, it made clear that, while the states still had many rights, one they did not have was the right of secession. Making that point stick required a bloody war, but the loss in life and property was worth the cost. Once it was made evident that state rights were so reduced, the Union victors had little difficulty in abolishing slavery. They did it quite simply by saying, in effect, to the seceded states: You cannot get back until and unless you free the slaves. Despite what has been written many times, in the past, the primary problem was federalism; slavery was secondary. When the state-rights issue was in hand, the slavery issue was easy to solve.

One wishes he could say that the Union dead who fought in the Civil War to end secession

and to free slaves had succeeded completely in wiping out the federal problem so that the knotty issue need not bedevil future generations. It was not to be so. The states were still lusty and jealous sovereignties which caressed and fondled their reserved rights, watching every move of the federal government to see that it did not overstep the authority granted to it by the states.

During the New Deal days the ancient squabble appeared again in the form of an exaggerated fear that the Roosevelt administration was conspiring to erase the states and to make provinces out of them. Once more historians noted arguments that seemed twice or thrice told. Show us, demanded state-righters, in black and white, where the states ever transferred to the federal government the power to interfere with farming as in the Agricultural Adjustment Administration or with manufacturing as in the National Recovery Administration. These, they added, were state concerns, and Congress had no power to touch them. What state-righters meant—in the context of the historic continuance of this same old problem—was that just as Parliament had never been granted the power to tax a colony internally or directly, so Congress had never been granted the authority to interfere with internal state matters like farming and manufacturing. And the Court agreed.

The state-rights party (now Republican instead of Democratic) attacked almost every sector of the New Deal program. Hardly a law was passed to control the depression or to prevent the sort of misdeed which had helped to bring on the depression, without a cry that the law was unconstitutional; so much so that it became part of the American tradition that we refuse to obey a law we dislike unless or until the Supreme Court accepts it. By and large, however, the Court thawed out considerably, and after the NRA and AAA decisions, soon permitted increases in federal power to such an extent that some opponents became almost hysterical in their criticism.

Now since 1954 we are facing the old issue again; it is in a new dress, and yet the style is strongly reminiscent of that current in 1776 and in 1860. The argument today takes this form: The Supreme Court decreed desegregation in public schools, and certain southern

states are refusing to obey. Again we hear the well known plea: Show us in black and white where the states ever gave to the federal government the authority to interfere with a reserved power like that over education. Southerners are talking in terms like those of the colonials when they objected to what they called Parliamentary despotism; like those of Jefferson and Madison when they broached interposition and nullification in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions; and like those of South Carolina when it tried to disobey the federal tariff law in the 1830's.

The frequent references in this essay to the old fight between colonies and Parliament may sound like the academic and ivory-tower sort of thing professors discuss in their classrooms but which seldom get much further, not even in the students' minds. Nevertheless when one listens to Southern talk and reads about Southern actions, he is less sure about the merely academic and ivory-tower aspects of the contrast between Revolutionary times and our own.

Touring the South in the summer of 1954, I stopped at a gasoline filling station at Wadley, Georgia, where half a dozen fairly well dressed local men in their thirties and forties were sitting in the shade and sounding off about the recent desegregation decision of the Supreme Court. I do not believe either they or the attendant noticed my Pennsylvania license; I doubt that it would have made any difference anyway. While the gasoline was flowing into the tank, the attendant and I listened to the bitter complaint of one father in particular. His denunciation went something like this:

The Republicans always do things that hurt the South, and that new man Warren egged the other Republicans and Democrats into a unanimous decision against us. I tell you I'll not permit my kids to sit beside ignorant Niggers in the classroom. Our ancestors once before got out their guns and rifles to fight oppression in 1776. I have a gun and I'll use it if they try to put these damned Niggers in our schools.

Somewhere in the middle of this outburst, my gasoline tank became full; during the rest of the discourse, the fuel ran down to the pavement until I pointed the situation out to the attendant.

I had to pay for the spilled gasoline.

It is possible that this man was merely talking "big" for my benefit, but that is doubtful because the conversation had already started before my arrival. As I thought about the episode later it seemed to me it was a most interesting throw-back to the ancient problem of federalism; without knowing it, the Wadley segregationist had been asking the old question: Where was the federal government (in this case the Court) ever given by the states any power over a local matter like education? His ancestors probably shouldered guns during the Revolution to protest against Parliament's overweening authority; he was now talking about doing the same thing to protest against the Court's overweening authority.

Since then the refusal to obey the national law in reference to desegregation has widened to the point where *The Nation* of December 17, 1955 spoke of "Insurrection" in Mississippi: "The failure of state authorities to safeguard the lives, liberties and rights of a million Negro citizens and residents, coupled with organized opposition to the execution of federal laws and decisions of the Supreme Court, has placed Mississippi in a state of open rebellion."

In *The Christian Science Monitor*, January 11, 1956, Joseph C. Harsch, commenting upon Virginia's recent plebiscite on the segregation issue, wrote:

This is attempted defiance of the federal government by the state which led the Confederacy less than a hundred years ago in a great war fought over the same central issue of the authority of the federal government . . . In terms of constitutional law, the most interesting feature of the new Virginia story is the revival of the word "interposition." . . . Those in Virginia who are leading the effort to avoid full compliance with the Supreme Court's decision are taking their text from the Virginia and Kentucky "resolves."

This southern attitude represents a fuller implementation of state-rights ideology than even state-righters of the New Deal days ever thought possible. They were willing, if reluctantly, to accept federal power if the Supreme Court affirmed the legality of the transfer from the states to the United States. From the era of the Dred Scott decision to the AAA and NRA cases, state-righters could, for the most part, depend upon the Supreme Court. But not since

1954; now they are unwilling to accept a transfer of sovereignty as constitutional even if the high court accepts the transfer.

A revolution lasting from 1775 to 1783 was required to make of the federal question a do-

mestic one; a Civil War of four years was necessary to prevent that problem from breaking up the Union. How long will it take and what will be required to dissociate federalism from race relations now?

"A New Birth of Freedom"

The School Segregation Cases in Perspective

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We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore plaintiffs . . . are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Thus Chief Justice Warren announced on May 17, 1954 the decision of the Supreme Court in the *School Segregation Cases* that Southern state school laws are unconstitutional. Within an hour the Voice of America was broadcasting in thirty-four languages the news of the most important decision of the United States Supreme Court since the Dred Scott Case in 1857. Although the cases involved only four states and the District of Columbia, the decision nullified the optional (with the school district) segregation laws of four border states and the mandatory segregation statutes and constitutional provisions of seventeen states and the District of Columbia. The public school enrollments in the mandatory states and the District total 8,200,500 white children and 2,530,000 Negro children, 40% of the public school enrollment of the United States. An obvious and immediate corollary to the decision will be a companion decision eliminating segregation in all public-supported institutions of higher education, completing the process begun by two 1950 decisions ordering the admittance of Negroes to Southern university graduate schools.

Significance

It is impossible to perceive and assess all of the implications of this decision, immediate and ultimate, domestic and international. Some of

the immediate implications were noted by Gordon Allport, Harvard psychologist: "The decision increases our national self-respect, improves the morale of thirteen million Negro citizens, and raises American prestige throughout the world. It demonstrates that democracy is still a vital and growing force in this country." After 169 years, the Constitution has been reconciled with the preamble of the Declaration of Independence.

The most significant aspect of the *School Segregation Cases* is that the Supreme Court has laid both the legal and the sociological bases for the eventual eradication of all legally-enforced racial segregation in the United States. The principle that "separate but equal facilities" in education are a meaningless sound can be extended in the next few years case-by-case to other areas of segregation as rapidly as the Supreme Court elects to move. The sociological basis has been stated by Harold Taylor, president of Sarah Lawrence College: "Because the educational system is the basic means by which mind values of democracy are projected into society, this will mean that in the long run segregation of Negro and white in the United States will come to an end." Manifestly this will be a long range development and extensive segregation will continue to be enforced informally by social pressures long after the last Jim Crow law has become a memory. Viewed in full perspective, however, it seems hardly an exaggeration to characterize the *School Segregation Cases* as the death knell for Jim Crow.

It is interesting to speculate why the decision came at this time. Why did the Supreme Court elect to cross the Rubicon and completely dis-

card the sham of "separate but equal" in 1954? This question may not be definitively answered before publication of the memoirs of some of the participating justices. Although there was no moral or logical alternative, the Court could have selected from six or seven decisional possibilities, without facing-up to the fundamental issue. Four of the five cases could have been decided on the basis of the inequality of facilities, as determined by the district courts. As in the Texas law school case (*Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U. S. 129, 1950), the Court could have declined to pass on "petitioner's contention that *Plessy v. Ferguson* should be re-examined in the light of contemporary knowledge respecting the purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment and the effects of racial segregation," because of the ancient and proper judicial tradition of not construing constitutional questions unessential to decision of the case at bar. The Kansas case was more embarrassing because of the District Court's finding that no inequality existed in the Topeka schools. A resourceful Court, however, could have found some transitional compromise by which to continue its policy of avoiding both a reversal and an overt affirmance of the *Plessy* rule.

The same psychological and sociological data and reasoning, demonstrating the inherent inequality of segregated schools and the tensions and other deleterious effects, on which the Court based its decision of May 17, were presented to the Court by an *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) brief filed by the United States Department of Justice in a 1949 case and by appellants in three cases in 1950 and 1951. It may be observed that the Court delayed two years before deciding the *School Segregation Cases*, which were appealed in 1951. On the basis of the Court's decisions since 1949, when the NAACP launched its barrage of school segregation cases, one might have expected the Court to tighten up the "separate but equal" rule by emphatically insisting upon strict equality, rather than approximate or pretended equality, as it has done in the four higher education cases since 1938. Thereby it would have stimulated the South to improve Negro schools, after exposure of the hypocrisy of equal facilities, while continuing to whittle away at segregation in interstate commerce and higher edu-

cation, until the distant day when the time might be ripe for an outright reversal of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* rule. Although the *School Segregation Cases* decision was portended somewhat by the 1950 graduate school admission cases, as the Court went to pains to point out, it was far from an inevitable derivative of those cases, and it was a sensational departure from a gradual, if not millennial, approach to the problem. Indeed it was such a rapid advance that it surprised most of the nation which had assumed that Southern bigots were unduly exercised about the cases.

The Southern states presumed that the Court would decide the cases on the equality rule. Since the NAACP launched its litigation campaign, Southern legislatures have appropriated large sums for school construction and salary adjustments with large amounts earmarked for Negro schools, which it was asserted would produce genuine equality. To this extent, the NAACP's campaign already was productive before May 17. A recent article in the journal *State Government* over the signature of Governor Herman Talmadge states that Georgia's current school construction program constitutes the first effort to provide equal facilities for Negroes. What more authoritative testimony that the "separate but equal" rule always has been a myth and a hoax!

The Fourteenth Amendment

The Court's decision turned on the interpretation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, one of the three Reconstruction Amendments. That amendment, adopted in 1868, was expressly designed to outlaw the black codes and to assure full and genuine citizenship to the emancipated Negroes. Its Section 1, only two sentences, has become the bulwark of civil liberty for both white and black and the standard for governmental regulation of business and property, and today involves about as much litigation as the balance of the Constitution.

Sec. 1, All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor

shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The Fourteenth Amendment was the effort of Reconstruction leaders to protect Negroes and to nationalize civil liberty by imposing on state and local governments constitutional limitations roughly equivalent to those imposed upon the national government by the "Bill of Rights," however in a series of decisions between 1873 and 1900 the Supreme Court largely nullified the Amendment. In the historic *Slaughterhouse Cases*, 16 Wall. 36 (1873), the Court construed the "privileges and immunities" of United States citizenship so narrowly as to be sterile; all significant privileges and immunities the Court held derivative from state citizenship and unaffected by the Amendment. In the *Civil Rights Cases*, 109 U. S. 3 (1883), the Court vitiated the due process clause by holding that the Amendment did not reach civil liberty violations by private parties, even by agencies operating such public services as streetcars, inns, and theatres.

The nullification of the Fourteenth Amendment was nearly completed in 1896 by the case *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U. S. 537. By that time the Court had despaired of enforcing Negro civil rights in the face of intense Southern resistance and after Northern public interest in Negro welfare had waned. Hence the Court grasped the separate-but-equal subterfuge to sustain a state segregation in transportation statute, thereby establishing the Constitutional rationale for a color-caste society. The Amendment, said the Court, was not an attempt to achieve social equality, because social *mores* cannot be changed by legislation or courts. As long as segregated facilities are reasonably equal there is equal protection of the laws. If Negroes regard segregation as a badge of inferiority, "it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it."

That cynicism moved Justice John Harlan, an ex-slaveholder from Kentucky, to write a passionate and prophetic dissenting opinion, one of the classic dissents:

Our Constitution is color blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens.

... We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other people. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of "equal" accommodations for passengers in railroad cars will not mislead anyone, nor atone for the wrong this day done.

The Court's decision on May 17 was official recognition that fifty-seven years of operation of the "separate-but-equal" rule has conclusively proved the following fallacies in the *Plessy* decision: (1) that segregation does not denote inferior status, (2) that equal facilities would be provided, (3) that the government is utterly impotent to restrain social injustice, and (4) that segregation would produce harmonious and wholesome race relations.

Strictly speaking, the *Plessy* case was not reversed by the *School Segregation Cases*, because the latter apply only to Jim Crow laws in public schools. However, the *School Cases* will be the precedent for the case-by-case invalidation of all Jim Crow laws. In conjunction with White Primary cases rulings, this precedent can be extended to private agencies performing public functions.

For deciding the *School Segregation Cases*, three principal approaches, rules of interpretation, were available to the Court: the historical one of its interpretation in 1868, the weight and logic of precedents (*stare decisis*), and the test of contemporary social justice. Since the Court elected to reverse itself, it could not rely on *stare decisis*. Indeed rarely have the precedents been so preponderantly on one side of a Supreme Court case.

In June, 1953, the Court directed the parties to explore the historical approach. This led to a rapid and exhaustive investigation of the bearing of the Fourteenth Amendment on school segregation in the minds of Congress and the thirty-six ratifying legislatures. That research was bound to be "inconclusive" because of the broad language of the Amendment and the embryonic stage of public school systems at that time. The principal value of the research, aside from the accumulation of legal history now appearing in law journals, was a refuta-

tion of the argument that the presence of school segregation in the District of Columbia and many of the ratifying states was proof of the compatibility of school segregation and the Amendment. In fact, it would have been a grave mistake for the Court to have placed much reliance on the historical approach. That would have chained the Constitution's meaning and values to the year 1868, and it would have been flagrantly inconsistent with the Court's usual approach to construction of the Amendment.

Hence the *School Segregation* decision rests on the test of contemporary social justice, recognizing that the Amendment's content is an evolving concept in which the meaning of the Amendment is determined by consideration of contemporary social facts and requirements. Areas of social control or regulation beyond the remotest fancy of its framers are properly within its scope. This approach the Court has employed since about 1900 to develop the one sentence into a veritable constitution, the most important sentence in legal literature. The essence of the Court's opinion (not a literary masterpiece) is simply: We have examined the abundant testimony of the social scientists, exhaustively presented in the trial courts, regarding the injurious effects of segregation on school children, white and black, and the incompatibility of such segregation and equal protection of laws. We agree.

To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their

race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone. . . . A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law therefore has a tendency to retard the educational development of Negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system.

Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in *Plessy v. Ferguson* contrary to this finding is rejected.

In the famous words of Charles Evans Hughes, "The Constitution is what the judges say it is." But more than that, it is what time and events and public opinion make it; in the final analysis it is a state of mind and it can be altered by a change of mind. The supreme function of the Supreme Court is to be a perpetual constitutional convention, adjusting our fundamental law to rapidly changing conditions, including social ethics. The decision is not the revolution—it is the recognition of the revolution. The judicial modifications of the Constitution usually are small, bit-by bit, and inconspicuous. The *School Segregation Cases* should stand forever as the most profound and spectacular judicial amendment of the United States Constitution.

Junior Civil Defense

A Community Laboratory Approach for Citizenship Education

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In the city of Mt. Vernon, N. Y., Civil Defense activity is receiving attention. A Junior Civil Defense activity unit, one of the first of its kind in the United States, has been organized and has met with overwhelming success.

The writer, its director, affirms that this is an opportunity to assist our youth and through them . . . the parents, to become better acquainted with the functions of Civil Defense. At the same time, it helps to give our youth an

opportunity to understand their responsibilities as future citizens of their community. In a world beset with tensions, anxieties, and the cold war, it behooves adults to give youth a comprehensive grasp of civil defense as part of their citizenship education. The atomic age is here to stay, hence understanding of and protection against the ravages of destruction must become a realistic concept within our citizenship education curriculum.

At the organizational meeting held Oct. 1, 1955 in the Common Council Chambers, City Hall, Mt. Vernon, N. Y., a "S.R.O." sign had to be put up. Over 250 youngsters jammed every available seat. H. R. Knox, the C.D. director in Mt. Vernon, stated, "The enthusiasm displayed by these youngsters makes the future of this C.D. program look very favorable." At the first meeting an outline of the training program was presented to the boys and girls. There would be monthly meetings. At these meetings there would be instruction by air raid wardens, ground observers, and C.D. specialists (such as fire, police, bomb demolition, telephone-center control, etc.) in their specialties. Instruction in first-aid and close order marching were all to be on the schedule. Attendance was needed for each meeting. Upon the completion of the course, the students will be awarded certificates and armbands, and assigned to the warden of their respective districts. The air raid wardens would use this trained man-power as messengers, junior air raid wardens, junior ground observers, and as clerical assistants.

Commendations on this training program have come from the Federal C.D. Administration, the N. Y. State C.D. Commission, and other groups. Many of the civic, fraternal and religious organizations, as well as public schools, are co-operating by publicizing and endorsing this activity among all citizens.

The training, as set up, capitalizes on the needs and interests of youth. There are no formal tests, no homework assignments. There is constant practise of what has been taught. Each youngster is always encouraged to invite another youngster to attend a meeting. Parents, too, are invited and urged to attend.

Can this Junior Civil Defense program be a part of the curriculum of citizenship education? It can for the following reasons:

- 1—it utilizes the problems of personal and social development common to all youth.
- 2—it develops these problems without reference to the traditional subject matter.
- 3—it encourages the use of problem-solving techniques to attack the problem.
- 4—it provides for a scheme of organization—that of developing social competence and social responsibility; by developing the Civil Defense program around individual interests and purposes.
- 5—it provides for individual and group guidance.

This program is really a community approach to a vital problem, both local, state and national. Mt. Vernon is being used as a laboratory to determine the feasibility of making adults more C.D. minded through educating the children in it, first. The children, in turn, affect the complacency of the adults, by bringing into the home this vital information.

This laboratory experiment is still in its infancy. But as the first one of its kind, it can set the pattern that may revamp the general course of citizenship education for many communities as it applies to Civil Defense. There is another factor that affects this program, too. Through active participation in C.D. work, youth realizes its responsibility to the community. It begins to be aware of the immensity of the elements that the atomic age has ushered in. It seriously becomes cognizant of its deep and conscious responsibility as future Americans.

Grigori Efimovich Rasputin 1871 — 1916

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At the conclusion of his report to Nicholas II, Count Vorontzov-Dashkov added, "Now, I must speak to you about a different matter. Do you know that, with your Rasputin, you are heading straight for disaster? Do you know that your son's throne is at stake?"

Rarely in all history has a ruler's adviser been so morally bankrupt, so ethically insolvent, so culturally sterile, so spiritually perverted as was Grigori Efimovich Rasputin. He had almost no education; he was devoid of idealism, and nobility of spirit was alien to

his nature, yet he masqueraded as the Son of God. He was the symbol of St. Petersburg's psychosomatic social slime at the close of the Romanov era.

Grisha, as he was called, was the son of a drayman in the Siberian village of Pokrovskoe. As a youngster he gave promise of becoming an exemplification of his name, Rasputin, which means "dissolute." He was in school just long enough to acquire a rudimentary command of reading and writing. As a boy he had a vicious reputation, and long before he was a man he had been guilty of perjury, horse stealing, and rape. For his own good he found it expedient temporarily to leave Pokrovskoe. Upon his return, he pursued his father's career, conveying passengers and freight to surrounding towns. Between trips he developed an attachment to, and married, Praskovia Feodorovna Dubrovina, by whom he became the father of two daughters and one son. Marriage did not improve his morals, for he persisted in his license and lecherousness.

Then a miracle happened—or else Grisha was the victim of an hallucination. He maintained that, as he was plowing, he heard a chorus of a thousand voices singing a resonant hymn, and that as he looked up he beheld the Holy Mother of God swinging on the sunbeams. Grisha was emotionally shaken. He asked himself what it all meant; and the more he brooded over it, the deeper grew his mystification. He confided his experience to only one of his fellow-villagers; but since his confidant could give no satisfactory explanation, Grisha continued in his supernatural muddle. But, mystical as he was, he reflected a good deal about life and death and he developed a considerable familiarity with the Scriptures.

Then one day as he conveyed Mileti Zaborovsky, a divinity student, to the monastery of Verkhoture he so impressed his passenger with his spiritual penetration and comprehension that Zaborovsky invited him to remain, as a student, in the monastery. Grisha accepted and thus began his attachment to the Khlysty sect.

This sect had been founded by Danila Filipich more than two hundred years previously as a protest against the ritual and formalism of the Orthodox Church. To these sectarians Orthodoxy offered merely meaningless observances

devoid of grace. According to the Khlysty, man, during his mortal sojourn, can be united with God, for the Lord is continuously reincarnating himself in men. The Nazarene miracle is eternally repeating itself, if only men yield themselves to God. Additional Christs—sons of God—continue to appear, preach, submit to crucifixion, die, resurrect, ascend in glory to heaven and reign in splendor with God.

The story of Radaev, a Khlysty prophet, captivated Rasputin. It seemed spiritually tailored to fit him. Radaev antedated Rasputin by only a few generations. His sins made Rasputin's transgressions by comparison seem mild. Radaev had lived in sin with thirteen women at one time, and how many other victims—or beneficiaries—there were to his lust was almost beyond calculation; and yet he was a prophet. He had frankly admitted that he had broken the earthly moral code, but insisted that in so doing he had sanctified his victims. Christ prescribed repentance as a condition for salvation. Since repentance was impossible until there had been abasement, the Khlysty fused religious fanaticism and sexual orgies. In summers, worshippers assembled in the lee of a forest, built a bonfire, sat down in a circle around it and sang hymns and danced around the fire, faster and ever faster until in erotic exhaustion they fell in a collective frenzy and mingled with sexual fury. In this copulative ecstasy men and women, in theory, surrendered the last remnants of arrogance and pride in their souls, and rose humble, submissive, and penitent. The "sinful encounter" constituted a preliminary session to salvation.

Thus fortified with a creed that encouraged license, Rasputin proceeded upon a pilgrimage in his preparation to redeem society. He abandoned his family and roamed the steppes of Russia. In this vagabondage he encountered representatives of every class of society and, through keen observation, acquired a practical knowledge of Russian psychology. He was laying the foundation of adventures farther afield.

This pilgrimage was not without excitement. He helped fishermen empty their nets, farmers gather their hay, lumbermen roll their logs, and he preached to them the doctrine of salvation through repentance and faith. Stories also trickled back of his forest services which ended in carnal ecstasies. Wives and daughters of the

peasants left their homes and followed him in order to augment their repentance and to deepen their humility. When fathers and husbands proceeded against him, he cursed them with a three-months' drought, and there was no rain for ninety days. He chased the devil out of a nun, and healed the sick. The Orthodox in Pokrovskoe pronounced him a Satan, but the Khlysty knew that he was a man of God. To them he had a striking resemblance to Radaev, Ivan Suslov, and Danila Filipich, saints of the Khlysty sect.

After years of wandering Grigori returned to Pokrovskoe. He was aware that his reputation as a saintly celebrity and miracle-man had preceded him, and he meant to live up to it, and he did. For weeks he occupied the prayer hole of his father's house and there he prayed, lamented, groaned, supplicated, sang hymns until his wife was a little disturbed for his mentality, and his old father alternated between pride and anguish. Prokovskoe's population split in three ways. Rasputin's Khlysty followers were convinced that their leader was God incarnate; his enemies, chiefly the devout and loyal of Orthodoxy were equally certain that he was the Antichrist. But a considerable number did not take the trouble to take sides. Father Petr, the local Orthodox priest, hoped to discredit Grigori completely by calling a commission headed by the presiding Bishop to condemn him as a blasphemous impostor. But all those whom the commission interviewed spoke only in the highest praise of Grigori's saintliness, and so the commission was disbanded. Since it had neither condemned nor praised him, its investigation nevertheless left the impression of having persecuted him, and so he was soon regarded as a martyr. His popularity spread with the intensity and speed of a Siberian prairie fire. The populace addressed him "Father Grigori! Our Savior!"

Rasputin believed that there were richer fields to till. Every ambitious man is eager to make a name for himself in the nation's capital and Rasputin was no exception. He proceeded to St. Petersburg with letters of introduction to Archimandrite Feofan, rector of the Theological Academy, and to Father John of Kronstadt. Fortunately for Rasputin, he made an excellent impression upon these two dignitaries. Both of them felt that they had made a discovery. They introduced him to the monk-priest Iliodor,

whose real name was Sergei Trufanov, and who was generally regarded as the greatest preacher in Russia. He too was favorably impressed. Rasputin's entry into St. Petersburg was therefore felicitous.

These three clergymen then introduced Rasputin to the Central Committee of "The Russian People." This organization was eager to have the services of an able Russian peasant to combat the radical ideas of the West, which were unsettling Russia.

Rasputin scored his greatest early triumphs in the social sector. Within three months after his arrival, he was the lion of St. Petersburg salons. The socially minded loved him for his peasant costume, his primitive wisdom, his filthy fingers, his elemental vigor, and his hypnotic glances. The mystically-inclined Russians were fascinated by his disquisitions on philosophy and religion, morals and ethics. He exhilarated the capital's salons as a Siberian breeze invigorates the atmosphere of a sultry, summer Sunday afternoon. To the useless, jaded social souls who glowed with the iridescence of their own decay, he was the sensation which shocked them out of their weary boredom.

Among his early conquests were the grand duchesses Anastasia and Melitza, the daughters of King Nicholas of Montenegro, both of whom were married to Russian Grand Dukes. They idolized him, and introduced him to Empress Alexandra. When reason failed to solve her problems the Empress relied upon quackery, and she enlisted a battalion of charlatans who were expected to accomplish what was beyond the ability of geniuses and angels. Among these, merely to mention a few, were the idiot Kaliaba, the psalm-singer Egorov, the imbecile Ossipava, the strannik Antoni, the magician Papus, the Tibetan necromancer Badmaev, the thaumaturge Dr. Philippe, and the gynecologist Encause.

Alexandra had hoped that her first child would be a boy in order to provide the required male heir, but instead four daughters in succession had arrived. Alexandra had engaged each of her quacks in the hope that somehow through their magic her chromosomes might be oriented into a male combination and give her a son, but all to no avail. Rasputin in 1903 took a long chance. While he was at the salon of Madame Lokhtina, a court lady, and the wife of

a general, he ventured: "I see on a heavenly cloud the child that will be born to Russia," and the vision was that of a boy. In 1904 Alexandra gave birth to a son. That gave the throne an heir and Rasputin a reputation.

Unfortunately that son was a hemophiliac, an illness that could be traced to his great-grandmother, Queen Victoria, of England. Before Rasputin had left Siberia, he had healed the sick by laying on hands, and by various other forms of sorcery, and this accomplishment had been widely advertised in the capital. Furthermore, before Dr. Philippe had left St. Petersburg, he had assured Alexandra that "God would send you a friend to help you and to protect you." Grand Duchess Anastasia, the Montenegrin confidante, assured Alexandra: "Believe me, Alix, this is he. This is the friend whom Dr. Philippe foretold. He will save Russia and make your son well again. God has sent him to you."

A divine agent was highly imperative; for the Tsarevich, in a careless moment, while he was a mere child had injured his leg and sustained internal bleeding which produced enormous swelling and excruciating pain. Neither the science of the imperial doctors, the prayers of Ossipava nor the herbs of Badmaev could reduce the swelling or relieve the pain. Alexandra, out of anguish, fainted. The Tsarevich whispered, "Papa, if I die, let me be buried out there in the park." The Tsar choked. Obviously the crisis had been reached. When Rasputin heard of this, with the superb confidence of a demagogue, he announced: "Just tell the Empress to weep no more. I will make her son well again." This was the friend whom Dr. Philippe had foretold. The Empress sent for him.

As Rasputin entered the palace without any introduction he embraced the royal couple and gave each a resounding peasant kiss. Upon entering the Tsarevich's room he knelt before a sacred ikon and offered a fervent prayer. Then he arose and went to the sickbed, stroked the Tsarevich's feverish brow with his clumsy but caressing hands, smiled benevolently, and confidently assured him that he was going to recover. "Look, Alesha, . . . look, I have driven all your horrid pains away. Nothing will hurt you anymore, and tomorrow you will be well again." Then Grigori regaled the Tsarevich

with wonderful tales of the Siberian East. He concluded his call by saying, "Nothing can hurt you now. Nothing will happen when I am with you." And the strange phenomenon was that the Tsarevich did recover. As Rasputin took his leave the Empress kissed his hands. He had scored a double victory.

The Tsarevich had implored Rasputin to return the following day to tell him some more Siberian tales, and Grigori appeared. Day after day he called at the royal palace to comfort, soothe, and entertain the royal heir. His goings and comings became so customary that the Empress told him to come by the back door in order to escape the nuisance of having to identify himself to a series of guards who stopped everyone. Before long he extended the range of services. He advised the Empress on a wide variety of topics, and when the oldest daughter fell in love with Nicolai, an officer, she wrote him, "Do you remember what you said to me about Nicolai? And if you knew how difficult it is for me to follow your advice." In turn each of the royal children took their troubles to Rasputin and he employed all of his Siberian sagacity in solving their problems. Before long he had become their father-confessor.

His greatest service, however, was rendered to the Tsarevich, Alexei. Repeatedly when Alexei bruised himself his hemorrhages recurred, and as often the doctors could offer no cure, not even relief, and each time Rasputin was called in, and through faith healing, and hypnotism he was able to relieve the pain. Whenever Rasputin was banished and the boy suffered attacks, his mother was frantic. Frequently he was unwell even without bruises or bleeding, and miraculously recovered as soon as Rasputin appeared. This coincidence led some to assert that Rasputin prescribed a yellow powder for the Tsarevich in Rasputin's absence and it was administered by Madame Vyrubova, one of Alexandra's ladies-in-waiting. Upon Rasputin's return the powder would be deleted from Alexei's diet, and he would improve.

It was not only the children that succumbed to his rustic charm, but the parents as well, especially Alexandra. To her he became a holy man, almost a Christ—this man whose conduct in public houses was so revolting that the police refused to enter a record of his behavior into their files. His filthy finger nails,

his dirty hands, his unkempt hair, and his soiled linen did not repel her for, in him, she saw a divinity. She regarded him as the protector of the Tsar, of her son and of all Russia. He was a peasant, and he spoke with the voice of peasants, and almost all Russia was peasant, so he was her link with the soul of her country. Like a peasant he spoke bluntly, even to her, and she was glad to be treated with candor, even as her grandmother, Victoria, Queen of England, had taken straight talk from Brown. Grigori was able to stimulate, encourage, comfort and soothe her. To her, in a court that was hostile, in a capital which she disliked, among ministers whom she distrusted, Rasputin became indispensable.

The Emperor, though not as enthusiastic about Rasputin as Alexandra was, nevertheless enjoyed the monk's companionship. Nicholas and Rasputin had mysticism in common. Nicholas therefore found it easy to follow Rasputin's approach to life. Furthermore, even if Nicholas had not been drawn to him, he was pushed toward him by his wife. Alexandra was forever extolling the virtues of Grigori, and, weak as Nicholas was, he yielded to his wife's entreaties. Nicholas said that Rasputin was "just a good, religious, simple-minded Russian," but he also confessed that "Whenever I am oppressed by any care, doubt or worry, it is enough to talk five minutes with Grigori; I at once feel strong and calm again. He always says exactly what I need to hear, and the effect lasts for weeks . . ."

In ancient times kings maintained court fools who spoke frankly to their majesties under cover of wit. It was about the only way royalty could bluntly be told what the score was, for there were no opposition newspapers to report the unpleasant features of their administration. One of the functions of Rasputin was to serve as a twentieth century court fool. He was not an entertainer, but he did not mince words. He repeatedly admonished Nicholas: "Why don't you act as a Tsar?" Rodzianko, the President of the Duma, maintains that Rasputin dominated the Tsar, and Fulop Muller in his study of Rasputin says that the monk behaved as the Tsar's equal. Apparently Nicholas took no offense, for he told Rasputin, "Grigori, you are the Christ!" Speaking to the monk Ilidor, Nicholas urged him to "Consult oftener with

Grigori about your sermons. He will lead you aright. He is our Father, our Savior. God sent him to us." In turn for such appreciation Rasputin bragged that Nicholas "cannot breathe without me," and he told the royal pair, "So long as I live you will live; when I die you will also perish."

Rasputin never held any position in the government except that of lamp-lighter of the royal palace, and yet so powerful did he become that Michael Florinsky, a distinguished student of Russian history, insists that by the end of 1916 "Rasputin was the undisputed master of the destinies of the country." It is therefore not surprising that some Russian people referred to him as the "Tsar of Tsars," a term in peasant usage applied only to very great and holy people.

The secret of this power lay in his ability to relieve the Tsarevich in his seizures of bleeding. So far as the Tsarina was concerned, this gave him immunity from all attacks against his character and person. Rasputin was fully conscious of this, and he aimed to retain this anchorage. In his relations with her he lived the part he acted. She thought him divine. To her he conducted himself with great circumspection. With almost any other woman he attempted or took liberties. With Alexandra he was correct.

Furthermore, Rasputin was highly intelligent. He admittedly was uneducated, but nevertheless his mental processes functioned smoothly and efficiently. He was a sharp observer, and demonstrated this even when he was a boy. A group of neighbors had assembled in his father's house to consider what steps to take in order to recover a horse stolen from one of the neighbors. Amid violent denunciation and heated discussion, they proposed plans for the apprehension of the thief. Though Grigori was bedridden with fever, he jumped from under his covers and accused one of the men of being the thief, and his indictment was verified. Throughout his stormy career in innumerable instances his splendid mental equipment repeatedly served him well.

Another attribute was his poise. He was never disconcerted. He was never ill at ease. He always felt at home in his environment whether he was in a mud hut calling on a peasant or in the imperial palace visiting the

Tsar. His aplomb was well demonstrated when he first met the monk-priest Iliodor, who was known for his fanatical zeal, compelling voice, dignified bearing, and violent temper. Rasputin was escorted by the Archimandrite Feofan and Bishop Hermogen into Iliodor's chapel where they found him kneeling low in fervent and prolonged prayer. Rasputin's patience finally broke and he advanced to where Iliodor was kneeling and interrupted him, saying: "Brother, brother." Iliodor, with blazing eyes, rose and was about to launch a deluge of invectives against the intruder, but before he released it Rasputin beat him to it by saying: "You pray well, brother. . . . Now cease persecuting God with your prayers; even He wants a rest sometimes," and Iliodor found himself intellectually benumbed. This was only one of the many instances in which he dared the bold approach and succeeded in carrying the day. He was an artist in sizing up a situation.

Still another factor which contributed to his power was his utter ruthlessness. Though he claimed divinity, he was never restrained by morality. He exploited cynical opportunism for his own advancement, and apparently was untouched by remorse. And in addition he possessed an elemental, primitive shrewdness. Intuitively and instinctively he avoided all sorts of booby traps and made surprising short-cuts.

Furthermore, he was a man of amazing physical vitality. He indulged in excesses, endured privations, reveled until daybreak, and worked hard. A man that possessed all these advantages, and then enjoyed the patronage of the royal couple, merited the title of the "Russian Richelieu."

The procedure by which he exercised his power was through his influence to effect appointments and dismissals. Since Nicholas, and especially Alexandra, had a profound faith in him, a recommendation of his was almost like an order. He inaugurated his administrative power in church affairs. Through his influence Varnava, an old friend of his, was made bishop of Tobolsk. Yet Varnava, because of his educational deficiencies, was utterly unqualified for the post. He secured the dismissal of Samarin as minister of religion, and his successor Volzhin, was largely Rasputin's choice, but when Volzhin disappointed Rasputin, Grigori gave him the boot. The selection of Raiev to fill

the vacant office had Rasputin's endorsement. When his old friend Feofan, the Tsar's confessor and rector of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, criticized Rasputin, Feofan was transferred to the See of Simferol in Crimea. When Bishop Hermogen, a former friend, criticized Rasputin for his intrigue and corruption, Hermogen was sent to the monastery of Zhirovetsky. Rasputin did not spare another old friend, the monk-priest Iliodor. When he denounced Rasputin, Iliodor was sent into exile. Rasputin's recommendation made Pitirim, "a contemptible sycophant of his own," Metropolitan of St. Petersburg. Rasputin's intrigue induced the resignation of Lukianof from the Procuratorship of the Holy Synod, and when Sabler assumed that office, he had none other than Rasputin to thank. The wholesale resignations of professors of theological seminaries could be traced to the "Mad Monk." His coarse and cunning peasant hand manipulated, in violation of all ecclesiastical rules, the creation of a new Saint, St. John of Tobolsk. He ordered the institution of public prayers throughout all Russia without consulting the Holy Synod. It is not surprising that Purishkevich, a leading member of the Duma, regretted that "Our last mainstay, the Holy Orthodox Church, is being destroyed."

The advent of his influence in civil administration was longer delayed but equally comprehensive before he died. Eventually, he appointed and dismissed cabinet members, even including the premier. Rasputin encountered some difficulty in naming Protopopov as minister of interior, and to accomplish it he had to make a special trip to Tsarskoe Selo. Upon his return to the salon of Madame Golovina, he reported, "I have put everything in trim again. I had only to go myself . . . I went straight in. I saw at once that Mama was angry and defiant while Papa was striding up and down the room whistling. But after I had bullied them both a little, they soon saw reason. I had only to threaten that I would go back to Siberia and abandon them and their child to disaster and they immediately gave in to me in everything. 'The man who turns his back on God' said I 'looks the devil straight in the face.'" . . . "Then he looked proudly at his coarse peasant fist and shook it vigorously and cried, 'Between these fingers I hold the Russian Empire.'"

Rodzianko's estimate of Rasputin's power confirmed the starets's view of his own importance, for the President of the Duma declared: "... The members of the government owe their posts to him. . . ." Even the Tsar was roughly reminded who was the boss. When Nicholas considered dismissal of Sturmer as premier, Rasputin wired him "Hands off the old man, I tell you." And Sturmer likewise was put in his place: "You must not act against Mama's wishes, or I shall abandon you, and then it will be all up with you. Behave accordingly." Commenting on this incident to his secretary, Rasputin remarked, "He tried to defy me, but I will break his neck if he doesn't obey." Toward Maklakov, one of the ministers not of his endorsement, he was openly contemptuous. When the two met at a salon, Rasputin motioned with his curved finger, "Come here, you! Pay attention to what I tell you. It will not be long until we make a good man out of you, one pleasing to God," and then dismissed him by saying, "Now you can go."

Though he was a concentrate of ignorance in military affairs, he nevertheless directed military campaigns, appointed and dismissed military commanders. Rasputin had wanted to pronounce a blessing on the troops of the Grand Duke Nicholas, the Supreme Commander of all Russian forces. But the Grand Duke Nicholas contemptuously announced that, if Rasputin reported in his presence, he would hang Grigori. The vengeful soul of Rasputin never forgave this slight, and by insinuating to Alexandra that the Grand Duke was scheming to replace her husband as Tsar, Alexandra, through Nicholas II, removed the Grand Duke from his Supreme Command and sent him to the quiet sector opposite Turkey in Asia. Thereafter Nicholas II was in supreme command of all the forces.

There was hardly any administration with which he did not interfere. He settled at various times and in various ways the administration of food supply; he ordered an absurdly simplified way of dealing with the question of rations; he conferred repeatedly with the Minister of Finance, whose resignation at first he demanded and then deferred, and he insisted on the issuance of an enormous loan. He arranged that the whole passenger transport of the country should be suspended for six days

for the passage of food—a measure which was made futile by the failure to collect food supplies at the proper places for transport. . . . He secured the suspension of Sukhomlinov's trial; he secured the dismissal of his successor, Polivanov, who according to all military evidence, including that of Hindenburg, in his few months of office brought about a wonderful recovery of the efficiency of the Russian army; he ordered an offensive; he countermanded an offensive; he dictated the tactics to be followed in the Carpathians; he demanded to be informed in advance of all military operations, and to know the exact day on which they were to begin, in order that he might bless the engagements by prayers; he arranged the details of the future military entry into Constantinople. He removed the Foreign Minister Sazonov, who in Russia was the main arch of the alliance, the trusted friend of the British and French ambassadors. He adjourned and opposed the Emperor's promise to give autonomy to Poland. He dictated telegrams to the King of Serbia and to the King of Greece.

Although he played a significant part in the prosecution of World War I, he was strongly opposed to armed conflict. He was always the ardent champion of the poor, who proverbially bear the burden and suffer neglect. He vigorously denounced Russia's entry in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05. He prided himself upon having averted war between Russia and Austria in 1909. He likewise exercised a pacific mood in Russia during the Balkan Wars in 1912-13. "War," he insisted, "is a crime, a great crime, the greatest which a nation can commit, and those who declare war are criminals." "Fear, fear war," he counseled. He insisted that the Balkans weren't worth fighting for. When World War I opened, he was in a Tiumen Hospital in Siberia suffering from a well-deserved knife wound in his abdomen. He regretted very much his inability to be in Tsarskoe Selo where he could have calmed the military hysteria and directed Russia's steps away from war. He nevertheless, to Nicholas' annoyance, sent the Tsar a telegram: "Let Papa not plan war, for with war will come the end of Russia and yourselves, and you will lose to the last man." As the war progressed, he was still hoping for some accommodation by which it could be stopped. "We have had enough of war

and bloodshed. It is high time to put a stop to this mischievous murder mania. Why? Are not the Germans our brothers also? Christ said we should love our enemies." Naturally feeling as he did, and being in such a strategic position, he became the main target of German separate peace offers.

He exercised power in still another manner. Each day he held open house in his residence, to which anyone with a request appeared to present his petition. Here every category of person reported with every kind of request—the simple peasant widow who needed employment, the young man who wanted exemption from military service, the young soldier who wished release from the armed forces, the mother who wanted her son pardoned from his Siberian exile, the manufacturer who wanted a government contract, the ambitious who wanted a position in the government or a promotion. All of these came to Rasputin, who listened to their tales and responded as he thought the merits of their cases warranted. When he approved a request, he provided the petitioner with his endorsement on note paper for the appropriate bureau chief, and woe to any chief who did not honor such an endorsement. The petitioner usually accompanied his request with some token of appreciation of its approval. A simple peasant might bring a few cucumbers, an artisan a pair of shoes; Rasputin was invariably appreciative of the gifts of the poor. The wealthy petitioners were expected to give more generous rewards, and these sometimes ran into the thousands of rubles. Rasputin retained a considerable proportion of this for his own use, but his humanitarian sympathies induced him to dispense generously to the poor. Despite this humane facet of his life, his office became the center of disgraceful graft and corruption. The few who benefited were grateful. The rest alternated between disgust and anger.

His debauched life alienated innumerable Russians, and to it there are few parallels in history. "The saint was obviously oversexed," and his promiscuity was appalling. Driven by lust and encouraged by greed, he outraged any number of women—and was proud of it. So flagrant a violation of the conventional mores could not but arouse venomous hostility, and the wonder is that he was not more frequently the assassin's target than he was. Ilidor called

him "a monster of iniquity, a child of hell, who deserves to be exterminated like the noxious vermin that he is." Rodzianko, Stolypin and Kokovstev, all distinguished men who were not his stooges, demanded his banishment from the capital. Church courts sentenced him to confinement within a monastery; but his own pugnacity and shrewdness combined with the appeals of the Empress for his return, rescued him from Siberian oblivion.

Many patriotic Russians observed the bacchanalia of incompetence and corruption under the Empress and Rasputin that was ruining Russia. Men were fighting and dying on the battlefield, and yet each year merely tallied up additional defeats for Mother Russia—all because, the patriots of Russia believed, the country was being administered by an hysterical woman and a licentious knave, who masqueraded under the mantle of religion. Proposals, in 1915, to transform Russia from an autocracy into a constitutional democracy were on the point of fulfillment, and then the sinister influence of Rasputin killed that venture. Only by an enthusiastic fusion of all the nation's energy could Russia win the war against the Germans, and that could not be accomplished so long as the Tsar perpetuated autocracy and Rasputin practiced corruption and favoritism. It was impossible to correct the situation by constitutional reform. Russian patriots resolved to effect the change by assassination. Rasputin would have to go.

There were several plots to rid Russia of Rasputin, but young Prince Yusupov, who was married to a cousin of the Tsar, executed the assassination. Involved in the enterprise were also Grand Duke Dmitry Pavlovich, a cousin of the Tsar and therefore a member of the royal family. According to Russian law this placed the assassins beyond the ordinary civil and criminal code. All those associated with an assassination in which a member of the royal family was a party were *ipso facto*, immune from prosecution, except as the Tsar himself might impose penalties. V. M. Purishkevich, a Conservative member of the Duma, Lieutenant Sukhotin, and Dr. Lasavert were the remaining members of the assassination team.

Prince Yusupov lured Rasputin to his palace by expressing a wish that he should meet his wife, who was beautiful and young. To such a

decoy Rasputin's defense mechanism was unreliable, and he accepted. Prince Yusupov called for him at midnight, December 30, 1916. They returned to Prince Yusupov's palace shortly after midnight. Prince Yusupov entertained Rasputin with some gypsy love songs to the accompaniment of his guitar. Yusupov then offered Rasputin some wine loaded with cyanide of potassium. Grigori gulped down a glass, and took another with apparently no indication of distress. Yusupov then passed some cakes, under the frosting of which there was a generous interlarding of cyanide of potassium, and Rasputin again devoured a couple of them after which he hiccupped and drooled. Yusupov then excused himself and went upstairs to his confederates in crime, secured a revolver, and returned to Rasputin and shot him in the chest. Rasputin slumped to the floor, apparently dead, and the co-murderers dashed down the stairs to view the fallen starets. Yusupov shook the limp body to satisfy himself that Rasputin was dead. Rasputin fell back on the floor apparently lifeless, but in a flash he was on his feet and clutching Yusupov's throat. The young prince managed to tear himself loose and ran upstairs with Rasputin in pursuit. Rasputin, however, ran against a door with such violence that, though it was locked, he burst through it and found himself in the courtyard. Purishkevich followed him and fired several shots at him and finally hit him with two of them, and Rasputin fell in the snow. Purishkevich then ran up to Rasputin and "kicked him in the temple with all my might. I felt sure that this had settled him, that he would not revive." Yusupov then struck Rasputin over the head vigorously with a heavy slung shot. The assassins then tied Rasputin's hands and feet together, placed him in a car, drove to a bridge over the Neva River, dropped him into a hole in the ice, and drove away. Two days later the body was recovered and a post mortem revealed that Rasputin had died from drowning.

Rasputin's body was removed to the Veterans' Home at Chesna on the road to Tsarskoe Selo, and on January 3, 1917, it was buried in the Palace Park with the royal family, the two daughters of the starets, Anna Vyrubova, Minister of Interior Protopopov, two aides-de-camp, and Sister Akulina as mourners. After the Revolution, a couple of months later, the in-

surgents dug up his body, saturated it with gasoline and burned it. By that time Rasputin had suffered the worst extremities of air, water and fire. Reports that American soldiers found him in 1943 alive and well on one of the Aleutian Islands are as incredible as the accounts of Napoleon in New Orleans after the Battle of Waterloo.

No serious action was taken against the murderers. The Grand Duke Dmitry was banished to the Caucasian front, Prince Yusupov was exiled to his estate at Kursk, and Purishkevich was sent to the front where he administered supply stations for the army. This could hardly be classified as punishment, and yet the Grand Duke raised a vociferous protest against the Tsar's action.

Rasputin's death stimulated varied reactions. Enlightened and patriotic urbanites, whether Conservatives or Liberals, generally rejoiced. Upon meeting, residents of the larger cities kissed one another whether they were acquainted or not, cabmen refused their fares, and a vaudeville performer opened his show by saying, "Ladies and Gentlemen, let me congratulate you upon our common joy." The peasants, however, shook their heads, "Yes, only one muzhik got through to the Tsar, and him the masters killed." The social set, with most to lose, and with the least defense in an age of lawlessness, announced, "According to all precedents, the era of assassination is opened."

Rasputin was more than a vivid personality. He was a glaring symbol of a pathological society. Into the twentieth century the Tsars had perpetuated the country's antiquated institutions in consequence of which Mother Russia was out of harmony with herself and with surrounding civilization. In Russia the pathos of the poor contrasted with the revelries of the rich. Favors for the few took precedence over welfare for the workers. Repression rather than reform was invoked against every manifestation of freedom. Rather than provide leadership and encouragement the government imposed restraints and prohibitions. Into that climate the honest and industrious were hamstrung while connivers and intriguers flourished. Those who could exploit the morbid and psychotic rode the crest of the wave and on its froth Rasputin navigated like a five-star admiral—until he struck the Yusupov reef.

Drama in the Classroom

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Every good classroom teacher has certain characteristics which make him or her successful. Approaches, teaching methods, and personality traits vary with the grade level. Whatever the level, however, every *superior* classroom teacher is something of an actor.

In kindergarten and the early grades the teacher must express joy or wide-eyed amazement at tadpoles, lizards, snakes, bird nests, and other trivia brought to school for "tell and show." The hatching of a chicken should be signalled as something of a miracle (which it is, incidentally). The return of spring, the march of summer, the progress of autumn, and the stillness of winter should be treated as truly wondrous things. The teacher of the lower grades must be able to laugh easily, cry occasionally, and be stern sometimes. In any case such a teacher must always be obvious and spontaneous in her actions. In this way young minds are inculcated with a zest for living and a thirst for knowledge.

In the middle grades the teacher must be able to laugh readily *with* the children, and similarly she must be able to stimulate laughter in them. The teacher must be able to instill an insatiable curiosity in the minds of the children. Any question, no matter how ridiculous, must be answered sensibly and logically. The greatest acting job of the middle grade's teacher is in insuring that the students gain a certain seriousness of purpose.

In the upper grades and high school perhaps the most *demanding* thespian achievement of the teacher is the maintenance of a straight face. Teenagers are usually funny. Long legs, changing voices, and flirty eyes are funny. The instructor however must maintain a straight face at any time when it appears the student(s) may be embarrassed by laughter. The most *important* job which the high school instructor has is to convince the student of the importance of selecting a career early and setting his sights on the attainment of that goal.

The author cites these examples of the significance of drama in the classroom of the elementary and secondary schools with the full realization that the illustrations used do not begin to scratch the surface of the problem on those levels. However, since the author is teaching at a university it is appropriate that he confine his detailed comments to drama in the college classroom.

It is difficult to keep college students interested in a subject, particularly if it's a required course and if it is in a field which probably will not bring direct monetary remuneration. I teach geography, and the majority of students in my classes are there to fulfill a college requirement. As a result my most immediate problem is to overcome a hostility which is apparent because the student has *had* to take the course.

The best antidote for hostility is laughter. For the first few weeks of any semester the instructor must introduce some humor into any subject. For example, in physical geography when I deal with earth-sun relations, a somewhat complicated and potentially dry subject, I frequently suggest that a person's existence is rather precarious when he considers that he is a resident of a planet that is spinning about an axis at a thousand miles an hour and that the planet is part of a solar system which is moving at the speed of light. I'm not sure why, but this generally gets a laugh. In the same course another complex problem with great possibilities for student boredom is a consideration of tides. A tension reliever is an erroneous story which relates to tides. "It is said that the excellent quality of bacon hogs produced in Nova Scotia is directly traceable to the great tidal range experienced there. When the tide goes out great expanses of mud flats are exposed along with shellfish, sea weed, and occasionally fish. The hogs move onto the mud flat, eat the tidbits, and thus produce a

layer of fat. Then the tide rushes in, the hogs must run for their lives to escape drowning, hence a layer of lean. Alternate layers of fat and lean produced in this way result in superior bacon." This little story has not failed yet to draw laughter.

Once the original hostility is overcome the instructor is faced with the problem of holding interest and imparting information. And it is at this point that the professor has his best opportunity to bring drama into the classroom. Voice control is one of the most effective tools of the teacher-actor. He must be able to pass quickly, lightly, and unobtrusively over the inconsequential and to hit with a strong and dramatic voice the significant facts and their meaning. The professor must be able to make his voice boom, drone, rise to high pitch, accelerate, and decelerate with great frequency during the course of a lecture.

The geographer is afforded excellent opportunities to dramatically point to and explain the significance of passes, seas, mountain barriers, lakes, rivers, and other landform features, since he makes almost constant use of maps. There is drama in geographic features that influence history, and which currently affect the world geopolitical situation. An illustrative story can be used effectively to demonstrate the relationship of geographic factors to man's activities. The Allied landing in Normandy during World War II was scheduled for a period when the tides were most fortuitous. Then too, this same invasion was almost called off because of bad weather, but a skilled meteorologist saw a break in the weather of sufficient duration to allow the landings to continue. Dramatic?

To the geographer the weather is a never ending source of drama. The author has frequently been fortunate enough to have thunderstorms occur concurrently with his lecture on that subject. Once an earthquake shook the classroom. Frontal passages, cloud types, air movement, and storms are dramatic subjects when discussed in the abstract, but frequently nature lends a hand in providing realistic props.

Other facets of nature are inherently dramatic and the exploitation of this drama requires only a perceptive professor. The march of seasons, the variegated vegetation cover from place to place and time to time, the multiplicity of landform features, the abundance of

animal life, and the subtlety with which these ingredients are blended together make an organized whole.

The origin, development, and end of the world are fascinating and dramatic concepts. This author treats these topics briefly in an introductory physical geography course. The comparison between ancient and modern theories as to earth's origin and destruction, quoted together with appropriate voice control and dramatic impact are an effective teaching aid. To illustrate, the first chapter of Genesis in the *Holy Bible* discusses the origin of the earth in the following terms.

"In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. And the earth was without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

And God said, Let there be light: and there was light. And God saw the light, that it was good: and God divided the light from the darkness. And God called the light Day, and darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day. . . .

And God said, Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs, and for seasons, and for days, and years; And let them be for lights in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth: and it was so. And God made two great lights; the greater light to rule the day, and the lesser light to rule the night: he made the stars also. And God set them in the firmament of the heaven to give light upon the earth, and to rule over the day and over the night, and divide the light from the darkness: and God saw that it was good."

The most recent theories (not necessarily divergent from the Biblical concept) are summarized in "The World We Live In" series by *Life* magazine.

"However details differ, all theories of terrestrial origin follow two main lines of thought, each with a long tradition. In 1749 the French naturalist Buffon proposed that a comet once crashed into the sun, sending up great splatters of solar gas which then condensed into the planets. In later adaptations of this theory the comet became a star and the collision a near-collision, near enough so that the gravitational attraction of the trespassing star raised giant tidal waves on the body of the sun. At the point of closest approach the wave-crests broke away into space, cooled and became planets, half of them attached to the invader, the others remaining with their mother sun.

Against this 'tidal theory' stands the no less venerable 'nebular hypothesis' suggested by the philosopher Kant in 1755 and elaborated by the French mathematician Laplace in 1796. In this picture the sun was once surrounded by a rotating nebula, or envelope, of gas and dust, the possible residue of some wild solar explosion. Centrifugal force caused the nebula to bulge at the equator and cast forth a series of rings. The rings then coalesced into the separate objects of the solar system.

Generations of astronomers have revised and discarded various modifications of these two basic ideas. The currently popular theory which *Life* illustrates on these pages was formulated by Astronomer Gerard P. Kuiper of the Yerkes Observatory, University of Chicago, in 1951. As almost all astronomers now agree, it assumes, first, that all the stars evolved from primordial clouds of sparse gas and cosmic dust, drifting randomly in space. Compelled by gravitation, they massed, contracted, rotated. Internal pressures and temperatures rose, until in the last white-hot stages of collapse they began to radiate as stars. Spinning wildly about their poles, most of them split in half and turned into the binary (double) stars that make up more than half the stellar population. Others separated into triplets, or even, like our North Star, into five units that appear to the eye as one. But in certain instances—perhaps one in 100—different events ensued. (It is here that Kuiper's theory departs from those which presuppose some rare accident like a stellar explosion or near-collision; he conjectures that there may be a billion systems like ours within the Milky Way.) Occasionally the distribution of matter and balance of forces were such that, instead of dividing, a cloud formed a single nucleus. One was our sun, an infant star growing and glowing in the center of a rotating disk of inchoate matter the diameter of our solar system. As the disk spun, growing ever flatter, the effect of gravity created whorls of denser matter within it. The whorls collided, intermingled, collecting ever larger masses of matter into ever larger aggregates. In time—perhaps it took 100 million years—the larger whorls condensed into the planets, the lesser into subplanets, satellites and the wandering comets of the outer rim. Inside the whorl from which our earth congealed a still smaller one coagulated into our moon.

And so in the morning of time the earth was a featureless ball of anarchic matter, hurtling down the dusty corridor of its orbit. Some theorists think its substance was cold and wet, like snow. But most agree that as it grew it must have been heated to incan-

descence by the squeeze of gravitation and the friction of its passage through the solar cloud. While in the molten state the heaviest elements sank to the core, the lightest floated to the surface and the others arranged themselves between. Great jets of water vapor and carbon dioxide, pent in the interior, welled up and away to form the primal atmosphere. Slowly the crust cooled."¹

Similarly a dramatic comparison can be drawn concerning the end of the earth.

"Perhaps three to ten billion years from now the hydrogen that lights our sun will begin to run low, and as it dwindles certain dynamic processes will come into play to make the sun grow brighter and hotter. Slowly but steadily, millennium by millenium, the temperature on earth will rise until life shrivels and the oceans boil away. Yet for countless ages more the scorched and lifeless planet will still turn on the grill of the dying sun. Its final immolation may come in one of several ways. In its death throes the sun may swell, at first slowly, then more and more rapidly, evolving finally into what astronomers call a "red giant," somewhat like Betelgeuse or Antares—diffuse, distended stars so huge that if one were substituted for the sun it would fill the entire orbit of the earth. So one by one the nearer planets—Mercury, Venus, Earth and perhaps even Mars and Jupiter—would be engulfed in the monstrous, swollen body of the expiring sun."²

The biblical story written in more poetic language is amazingly like the modern version. Excerpts from the sixteenth chapter of Revelations reveal the striking parallel between modern and ancient prophecy. "And the fourth angel poured out his vial upon the sun . . . And men were scorched with great heat . . . and the cities of the nations fell . . . And every island fled away, and the mountains were not found . . ." Certainly there is dramatic impact in such comparisons.

The drama need not be serious, however; in fact, comedy may frequently be more effective. One of the professors at the University of California used to convulse his audience, and at the same time convey information. In discussing the history of Spain it was, of course, necessary to comment on the cultural characteristics of the people. Near the end of a class, in which he had discussed bullfighting, the professor would calmly reach into his desk drawer, take out a wooden sword, tie a handkerchief about his head, take a bandanna from his pocket and at this instant a ferocious bull (a student with

a paper maché head) would bellow and charge forth. The matador and the bull made the usual passes to the gleeful student shouts of 'ole' until at the bell signaling the end of the class the *coup de grace* was administered to a magnificent bull. This act always drew a standing ovation from the students, and the class would have been considered a success for the entire semester even if the professor had done nothing else for the remainder of the year.

Thus it can be seen that opportunities exist

for professors in many academic disciplines to inject drama into the classroom. No doubt the students will appreciate the acting, and at the same time profit from it. "Dry" courses can be made amazingly palatable with a little effort. The teacher need not be a brilliant actor to greatly stimulate his students. One word of caution—do not overact. The best actors are those who believe in what they're acting.

¹ Lincoln Barnett, "The Earth Is Born," *Life*, December 8, 1952, pp. 90-92.

² *Ibid.*, p. 103.

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

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Elegant Communication of Knowledge

What are the elements that should enter into the determination of a student's grade? Leopold Kohr, writing in *The Educational Forum* (May, 1956) on "How to Get a Good Grade" believes that grades are determined by the student and not by the instructor. Most teachers will agree with this point of view but not altogether as it is expressed in the opening paragraph of Dr. Kohr's article, which states: . . . "The instructor merely reads off the result. His position as a grader resembles that of an attendant at a fun fair. When someone hits the base of a muscle meter, the attendant records the height to which the metal piece has been thrust, and hands out the prize. The mark itself is determined by the player."

If the teacher were only a *recorder* of the student's performance, grading would be merely a mechanical measurement of achievement. It would be so if the grade were based solely on machine scored tests which were purely objective. Dr. Kohr himself does not believe that, for in a later paragraph he writes:

"In appraising these three determinants, the final examination is, as a rule, given a weight equal to that of the total of partial examinations. This is reasonable since the student must on this occasion demonstrate that he has retained what he knew before, and that he is able not only to jump over individual hurdles but also to finish the race. However, since all of us

are human, it may happen that, in spite of our store of knowledge, we may wake up on the day of the final with nothing but gray wastelands before our eyes. With only a series of previous partial tests as his guide, the instructor would in such a case have no alternative but to assign a failing grade or to submit the student to the terror of a second final. Or, if the final turned out unexpectedly to be better than the partials, he may feel unable to raise the term grade to the level which the performance might merit. But if in the course of the semester the student has given a running oral account of his knowledge by raising or answering questions, the instructor will have no scruples in either giving the correct weight to a good final, or in dismissing the significance of a weak one as an accident not properly reflecting the student's real standing."

Every teacher knows that grading involves not merely objective measuring and recording, but evaluation of performance.

Excepting this aspect of Dr. Kohr's thesis on grading, the article is a superb discourse on the subject, in addition to being delightful reading. The three basic elements that should determine a student's grade are: *knowledge* of the subject; *ability to communicate* the knowledge; and the *ability to communicate it elegantly*.

Dr. Kohr, as we saw, would utilize final and partial examinations as well as oral participation in class discussion as the means to appraise

the amount of knowledge and how it is communicated. Obviously, examinations would have to include those of the essay type as well as (if at all) of the objective type. Dr. Kohr's weighting of the three determinants of the final grade seems logical, although other good reasons can be given to support a different system of weighting.

Of particular charm (and logic) in the manner it was expressed, was the author's discussion of the third determinant of a grade: "the ability to communicate with academic elegance." It requires on the part of the student (on the college level) "mastery of one's language—the general ability to write and to speak in fluent prose . . . *academic* elegance, however, refers to more than mere behavior and grammatical fluency. It entails the student's ability to express himself with brevity, precision, and completeness."

Of the three, Dr. Kohr places greater emphasis on precision, of which he writes: . . . "For precision leads almost automatically to both brevity and completeness, and it is sharpened in the same way knowledge is sharpened: through debate and through the careful sifting, ordering, and condensing of course material. Yet it is the one quality which many students, especially in the social sciences, are inclined to dismiss as old-fashioned pedantry. And all too many instructors have begun to agree with the students. They no longer are able to see why one should not say the law of *supply and demand* but of *demand and supply*. Is not the one the same as the other? Almost! Why then turn it upside down? Because the other is downside up! Though the difference is minor and the first phrasing not exactly incorrect, the second is more logical." A person who expresses himself with precision is aware of subtle distractions, such as when a lawyer distinguishes "between a man 'who shot and killed someone,' and a man 'who shot someone who subsequently died.'" The subtle difference between what seem to be the same facts "is the difference between murder and manslaughter."

Precision or exactness of expression recalls to our mind the time when, as a high school student, we complained to the chemistry teacher for giving us "0" for a problem in a test. Everything was done correctly except that

in the final answer we misplaced the decimal point. The "prof," as he was called, smiled and stated that he would be glad to change our grade. Taking out his black covered roll book he said:

"See, I am giving you the full value for the problem, but instead of writing 10.0, I shall misplace the decimal point and put it before the 1."

Then he wrote next to my name the number .100.

In the social sciences also, as Dr. Kohr ably demonstrated, the failure to be precise or exact can be extremely unfortunate.

Although intended for college instructors and college students, the ideas presented in this discourse on grading are applicable to the lower levels of schooling.

* * * * *

The fourth edition of *Social Education of Young Children* published by the National Council for Social Studies (1956) should continue to be an educational "best seller." As with the council's other publications, this one is the work of scores of persons divided into individual teams for each of the chapters. In the words of the 1955 president of the N.C.S.S., Edwin R. Carr, "This edition of *Social Education of Young Children* has been completely reorganized and rewritten. The contributors, many of them new, bring a fresh approach to problems of curriculum making and consider new developments since the last major revision in 1950."

Part One deals with "Young Children in Today's World" and consists of the following three chapters:

- The Social World of Children
- The Role of the School
- Child Nature and Social Education

A few selected excerpts will illustrate the quality and contents of the contributions:

"For on one thing we can be sure—the child's view of society is made up of what he carries forward out of the relationships he has selected from those available to him. Availability is determined by what the society offers and by what uniquely differing individuals are able to select and use. This is not a passive view of society but an active one in which selection and

conversion to one's own purposes occur constantly."

"Children will come to understand that democracy means an ethical way of living, not because this concept has been verbalized in pious utterances, but because they themselves have lived day by day under the guidance of a teacher who has accepted the principles of equality and human rights as basic values. Classes guided by teachers committed to democracy will thus be similar in their essential human relations."

"What are those needs of children so basic to living that they, considered with the needs of the social group, should be allowed in large measure to determine the school curriculum? It is well for teachers and administrators who profess to be guided by the concept of child needs to clarify their understanding of these needs. Educators sometimes appear to react to surface manifestations rather than to the basic need itself. Sometimes day-to-day interests and desires, many of them transitory, take precedence over fundamental needs of the child and society."

Some of the major needs indicated in this chapter have to do with

Communication with others

Achieving status

Family living

On the need to communicate:

"It is obvious that human beings, living as they do in groups, must develop ways to communicate with each other—their daily associates as well as persons at a distance. Hence there is a need for developing efficiency in reading, writing, and spelling. The basic need here is the ability to express one's own thoughts and ideas and to interpret those of others, both present and past."

On achieving status, the case of George (p. 8) shows how important is the attitude of the teacher and the school. In the first school he attended his "second grade teacher and his parents recognized that George would not be a leader in academic situations. He did his best and both the teacher and his parents commended him for his work." He acquired no feelings of insecurity and was in fact able to develop leadership abilities outside the classroom because he excelled in physical skill and

stamina. Then George moved. The new school prided itself on its high academic achievements. His new teacher was "deeply concerned with the fact that George could not read third-grade books well nor do arithmetic problems . . . (and her) commendation was reserved mostly for academic achievement and unquestioning obedience, both of which came hard for George." George tried to gain status in play outside of class, in which he was successful, but it was insufficient to overcome his growing dislike for school and his looking for excuses to remain home.

Part Two deals with "The Curriculum in a Modern World" and is subdivided into 12 Chapters covering such areas as Objectives, The Unit Method, Intergroup Experiences, The Role of Reading, Economic Understandings, Geographical Understandings, Historical Understandings, and Evaluation for Social Maturity.

Part Three offers "Selected Programs of Social Experiences" and deals specifically with such content areas as kindergarteners studying family life, second grade students learning about transportation and third grade youngsters studying about Mexico. For people who wonder just what youngsters in the primary grades actually do by way of learning, and for teachers who want to profit by what other teachers do, this section provides a wealth of practical examples. The following, by way of illustration, represents what one third grade class discussed about Mexico:

Where is Mexico?

What kind of people live there?

Where do most of the people live?

Why do the people live where they do?

How do the people dress?

How do the people raise food in Mexico?

How do they prepare their food?

What kind of houses do the people build?

What games do Mexican children play?

What kind of schools are there in Mexico?

What kind of things do the people use in their homes?

In addition to discussion, the children engaged in the following activities:

Reading materials on Mexico both in class and independently.

Listening to records of Spanish music and stories told by Mexican people.

Observing pictures of Mexican life.
 Making pictures showing Mexican life.
 Collecting materials from Mexico for a room exhibit.
 Listening to talks about Mexico by someone who had been there.
 Writing stories about Mexico.
 Learning Spanish words and phrases.
 Solving new problems about Mexico.
 Some of the materials used included:
 A beginner's globe.
 Physical-political maps of North America and Mexico.
 Wall outline maps of Mexico for drawing in pictures, writing in names, etc.
 Films—"Mexican Children" and "Tina, Girl of Mexico."
 Filmstrips—"Mexican Children."
 Kodachrome slides of Mexico.
 A kit of materials from Mexico.
 Stories from readers used extensively
 Opaque projector for showing pictures from *National Geographic Magazine*, travel folders, and other sources.
 Flat pictures on Mexico borrowed from the public library.

As stated by the teachers, "Not only were they (the children) gaining an understanding of the basic social processes, but they were also developing a keen appreciation for people of other lands—an appreciation that would enable them to avoid more easily the harmful stereotypes cherished by too many adults."

Additional practical teaching-learning situations covered in this section include units of safety and cleanliness, health, recreation, learning to share, responsibility for chores and food production.

Part Four of the book deals with "Suggested Materials for Social Growth" and covers such sources as community resources, audio-visual materials, books, periodicals, and professional books for teachers.

Although directed primarily to teachers and other personnel in the elementary grades, all persons concerned with education will find *Social Education of Young Children* both interesting and profitable. We recommend it also to parents—for collateral reading.

Extra-Curricular Activities As Viewed in India

As part of its exchange service with other

publications, *The Social Studies* has received two issues of *Education and Psychology*, A Research Quarterly, published in Delhi, India. Written in English, with a sprinkling of Hindi, the journal invites "only papers devoted to original investigations, critiques of prevalent systems or practices and discussions of fundamental theoretical issues in the related fields." One of the several interesting studies reported in the June, 1956 issue (Vol. III, No. 2) concerned extra-curricular activities in 47 secondary schools in Nagpur, India.

Indian educators, like those in our country, are very much concerned with the overall objectives or purposes of education. The Indians, interestingly enough, regard the *psychological need* of the child as the paramount aim or purpose of education. Intellectual training is accepted as an integral goal, but it does not meet "all the psychological needs of the adolescent." Extra-curricular activities, they believe, should supplement the regular curriculum and thereby complete the "all-round development of the adolescent child."

Expanding on the overall purpose of extra-curricular activities, in terms of meeting the psychological needs of the student, the article cites the following five basic needs.

1. "The adolescent is perturbed on account of rapid physical changes in him or herself. Therefore physical health is the first requisite.
2. "In order to satisfy the instinct of curiosity it is essential that he or she be given ample scope for manipulative and constructive activities.
3. "All youths need opportunities to develop their capacities to appreciate beauty in Literature, Art, Music and Nature.
4. "Opportunities should also be provided to enable the adolescents to gain satisfying experiences and thereby to develop self confidence in them.
5. "With a view to inculcating proper civic sense among the secondary school children they should be induced to understand the rights and duties of citizens in the present democratic set up and thus achieve the two-fold purpose of satisfying social instincts and to give concrete shape to ideals concerning religion and morality."

The study, which involved the heads of the

47 schools replying to a questionnaire, together with visits and interviews, came to the following conclusions:

1. All those involved in the program, administrators, teachers, parents, and students believed that E.C.A. is an essential part of the school program. Both parents and teachers regard E.C.A. as vital to character building. Participation in E.C.A. has not had an adverse effect on the students' overall progress in his curricular studies.
2. With respect to making the E.C.A. program effective it is desirable that "the initiative should come from the students themselves;" that teachers should advise but not dominate; that there be sufficient

pre-planning, and that "a few well organized activities are better than a large number of indifferently conducted E.C.A.'s." Desirable qualities in the teacher-sponsor, such as sympathy for pupils, a pleasing personality and marked leadership, are considered highly necessary for a successful E.C.A. program.

3. Other suggestions for a successful E.C.A. program are:

Give E.C.A. a higher status by giving academic credit for participation in them. Reduce teacher-sponsor's teaching load. Provide means for wide pupil participation. Activities should be planned to help classroom teaching.

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

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CBS Television has announced that 26 new "You Are There" shows are ready for release. Such episodes as "The Courage of Lt. Stephen Decatur," "The Scuttling of the Graf Spee," "The Moscow Purge Trials," "Germany Invades Poland," "The Great Diamond Purge," "The Fall of Quebec," "The Plot Against King Solomon," "The Evacuation of Dunkirk," "The Salem Witch Trials," "The Conquest of Peru," etc. are among those of interest to Social Studies teachers.

Arthur C. Croft Publications, 100 Garfield Ave., New London, Conn. has available a U.N. "Workit." It includes a colorful, three-dimensional model of the U.N. and how it works. It is lithographed in full color and ready for assembly by your pupils. Included are buildings, prisms, and flag strips. This entire, colorful unit, along with an 8-page Teacher's guide costs only \$1.00 plus handling and postage.

FILMS

Presidential Elections. 16 min. Sound. B&W. Sale. Rent. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., 1150 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, Ill.

Shows animated drawings and photographic material record of recent campaign; and the major political moves in the nomination and

election of a President.

Meaning of Elections. 10 min. Sound. B&W. Color. Sale. Coronet Films, Coronet Building, Chicago 1, Ill.

Seen are the structure and functions of our election system, and some of the problems inherent in the system.

Mediterranean Africa. 12 min. Sound. Color. Sale. Rent. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc., Wilmette, Ill.

A historical and geographical survey of Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria.

Desert Nomads—French Morocco (Earth and Its People Series). 20 min. Sound. B&W. Sale. United World Films, Inc., 1445 Park Ave., New York 29, N. Y.

Tribes of nomads wander in search of grass for their animals, but always return to the oasis to exchange their products for agricultural crops.

Defining Democracy. 18 min. Sound. B&W. Color. Sale. Rental. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Inc.

Depicts the importance of determining two signs of democracy—shared respect and shared power.

Freedom to Learn. Sound. B&W. 27 min. Natl.

Educ. Association, Washington, D. C.

Discusses the question: "Should high school students learn about Communism or other controversial subjects in their classes?" Film is a defense of the freedom to learn and teach without censorship.

Pattern for Peace. 20 min. B&W. Sound. Rental. British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

Analyzes the U.N. structure and purposes with the assistance of animation and symbols. The film admits that the U.N. is not perfect, but it reminds us that the U.N. does exist and urges us to give it a proper try. This means understanding its set-up and functions.

World Trade for Better Living. 20 min. Sound. Color. B&W. Rental. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

Illustrates how the exchange of goods and services between countries contributes to the welfare of the world's peoples.

A Citizen Makes a Decision. 22 min. Sound. Color. B&W. Rental. Young America Films, Inc., 18 E. 41 St., New York, N. Y.

Shows steps taken in the process of making an individual political decision—determining the problem—securing information—weighing and sifting the facts through discussion—and making the decision count through active citizenship.

Political Parties. Sound. Color. B&W. Rental. Coronet Films, Inc.

Shows organization of campaign on precinct level, collection of money to finance the campaign, doorbell ringing, etc. It underlines the importance of understanding campaign issues in every election and of comparing campaign promises with a candidate's record. Illustrates the role of political parties under a democratic system of government.

FILMSTRIPS

Desert Nomads. French Morocco. 54 frames.

B&W. United World Films, Inc.

Depicts nomads of French Morocco wandering in search of grass for their animals, and for their own food.

Political Parties. 45 frames. Color. Society for Visual Education, Inc., 1345 Diversey Parkway, Chicago 14, Ill.

Shows how political parties operate.

American Parties and Politics. 60 frames. B&W. N. Y. Times, Office of Educ. Activities, 229 W. 43 St., New York 36, N. Y.

Tells how the two-party system developed, why third parties have been unable to take hold; the benefits and evils of political parties are also examined.

Young Citizen Looks at Politics. 50 frames. Color. Audio Visual Dept., Popular Science Publ. Co., 353 Fourth Ave., New York, N. Y.

Seen are the political parties, the primary elections, the nominating conventions, the campaign for presidency, the process for registration, the mechanics of elections, the functions of the electoral college.

Korea Today. 57 frames. Color. Ohio State University, Teaching Aids Laboratory, College Road Annex, Columbus 10, Ohio.

Depicts culture, terrain, farming, people, rivers and city life.

This Is Korea II—The People. 46 frames. Color. Free-loan. American Friends Service Committee, 20 S. 12 St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Seen is family life, rural and urban housing, clothing, food and preparation, and recreation.

Korea, The Land and Its People. 32 frames. Color. Society for Visual Education, Inc.

Depicts people, occupations, customs, activities and interests, architecture, and maps.

Korea: 2333 B.C. to 1951 A.D. 77 frames. *Life Magazine*, Filmstrip Division, 9 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N. Y.

Shows history and geography of Korea.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

DAVID W. HARR

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Building Citizenship. Hughes. Revised by C. H. W. Pullen. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1956. Pp. xvi, 654.

Building Citizenship presents the many civic, governmental and sociological problems of the day in an easy to comprehend style for the

Junior High School student of today. There is a very handy feature of this book that must be brought to the attention of teachers and students. Each chapter has a special introduction with appropriate questions which follow. There is an excellent conclusion at the end of each chapter—written to the child on his level. This bonus feature tends to explain and summarize the chapter content. Heavy black print makes the introduction and conclusion stand out from the rest of the volume. Descriptive pictures and detailed outlines should enhance the students progress and aid in a very orderly and informative notebook.

Mr. Pullen, associate and co-author of the distinguished Dr. Hughes, will have wide appeal and influence in small and medium sized rapidly growing communities which often have pronounced problems of migratory workers, citizenship, and other sociological situations. Not only is the book on the level of the student but it will appeal to the group whose academic level is average.

Typical of the best books on citizenship, there are interesting pages devoted to business and other subjects such as science which make *Building Citizenship* a must for the Library booklist. Day and evening Adult Education Classes will find its easy to understand pages very educational and rewarding.

HARRY GRANSBACK

Lincoln High School
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American Government. By Magruder. Revised 1956 by William A. McClenaghan. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc. Pp. xl, 756. \$4.00.

The most recent edition of this popular text in the teaching of American government on the secondary school level indicates careful thought regarding the improvement of teaching and learning techniques. Among these are a new vertical double-column page format, a new, larger, open typography and a series of vivid and significant illustrations, charts, etc. Each chapter is summarized with a resume of the important facts and a list of significant words and phrases in addition to the other teaching aids of the preceding editions. To encourage student participation in the development of the text each chapter has a stimulating terminal

section involving pupil investigation, discussion and kindred project work. Every chapter has its own specific bibliography in addition to an excellent general bibliography at the end of the book.

Substantively, the 1956 edition is not much different from its predecessor, though some of the latter has been much condensed. Thus in chapter two the 1956 edition omits the presentation on the historical background of the modern state; in recompense, it offers elsewhere in the book the text of the Articles of Confederation, a novel feature in books of this type. Mention of the Articles brings to mind the fact that on page 49 there is an excellent chart comparison between the Articles and the Federal Constitution in such graphic form as to greatly enhance its "teachability."

Certainly this latest edition of an old and reliable text book will be welcomed by every teacher of American government.

JOHN L. KEYNES

Central High School
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Dynamite in the Middle East. By Khalil Totah. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. Pp. xvi, 240. \$3.75.

In view of the current crisis in the Middle East, the title of this book seems as appropriate as the book itself is timely. Not intended to be a scholarly work, which however does not detract from its authenticity, the book should appeal to the layman who seeks more knowledge about this strategically important area. It is very readable and generously punctuated with absorbing accounts of places and personalities the author visited in the Middle East.

Dr. Totah attributes the gravity of the situation in this high-tension area primarily to Western policy, although he hastens correctly to point out that the Arabs themselves are partially to blame for their tragic plight by reason of their impotent leadership and general ineptness in achieving the solidarity which would insure the Arab states greater bargaining power in world affairs. He observes that the Arabs are firmly convinced that the West is hostile to them and that the Soviet Union is friendly. He suggests that it is futile to blame the Russians for the turmoil in the Middle East and the consequent loss of American prestige

there, since the Communists are merely capitalizing on a situation largely of our own making. The Arab world has been victimized by U. S. policy, and he deplores Western blundering and short-sightedness in dealing with Arab-Israeli relations.

It is difficult to quarrel with this interpretation, for it is apparent that the Arabs, whether rightly or wrongly, regard Israel as an interloper on Arab soil, and for this they largely blame the U. S. and the U. N. It seems equally incontrovertible that the Soviets, by their recent attempts to gain a diplomatic and economic foothold in this area, are exploiting to their full advantage the accumulated Arab grievances against the West. This reviewer cannot accept all the conclusions of the author, but he does agree that it is imperative that we modify our Middle East policy in terms of giving full recognition to the legitimate interests and aspirations of both Arabs and Israelis. If this book, by presenting the Arab side of the story, contributes toward this end it will have served its purpose well.

HORACE V. HARRISON

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Three Frontiers. By Alice Day Pratt. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1955. Pp. 132. \$2.00.

This little book constitutes extremely good literature, is full of feeling, and holds the interest of any reader who loves nature with its out-of-doors wild-life and who relishes a first hand account of a pioneering girl and woman. Alice Day Pratt writes with sensitiveness of her environment, with a deep appreciation of nature and with a delicate touch. Born in 1872 in Man-kato on the Minnesota frontier, she relates her experiences first in her prairie home. Then, after a three years' scourge of grasshoppers in which the father lost everything, the Pratts migrated to the newly opened Black Hills region, not to search for gold, but to take up a homestead. Here Alice Day spent the most thrilling days of her adolescence and revelled in the beauty of their location in their canyon homestead. There for fifteen years the family owned five hundred acres "of one of the most beautiful of natural sanctuaries."

After about fifteen years of school teaching in North Carolina and Arkansas Miss Pratt, became a homesteader in her own right in Central Oregon. Here she experienced the hardships of a rugged pioneer existence, along with the delight of one who loves the simple life and appreciates the majesty of God's handiwork. "And the spiritual fruits of the plowing? Rare leisure and opportunity to observe the skys, the shifting sun, the maturing season; rare chance to cultivate the confidence of the little birds that find treasure in the upturned soil and learn merely to hop to right or left and to answer our hail with cheerful chirpings; rare chance to pity the poor, evicted creatures of the soil—dazed and paralysed little mice and moles thrown from their dark catacombs into the blazing light of day, mighty Babylons of red ants upon whom their city 'is fallen, is fallen.' Life—tragic, unbelievably cruel, pitiable and hopeless, glad, triumphant, blithe and gay. It is all here within the boundary of these brown acres."

Ill fortune finally pursued Miss Pratt. Bad years—the depression of the 1920's, falling prices, a growing debt, the unpaid mortgage, delinquent taxes—and in 1930 bankruptcy, and the return to the East after eighteen years as a homesteader. In 1953 the author looked back upon her diary experiences not as misfortune, but as something highly rewarding and creative.

In this little book Alice Day Pratt has a philosophy for our time which would greatly enrich and reward those who would take a lesson from the book of her life which has been so rich in the sheer joy of living. The reader will have to search far and wide for as wholesome a biography as *Three Frontiers*.

WESLEY M. GEWEHR

The University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

A Manual of Audio-Visual Techniques. By Robert DeKiefer and Lee W. Cochran. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. Pp. 220.

This is a workbook correlated with various basic audio-visual texts. A nation-wide survey was conducted by the authors to determine the

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extent to which the material that appears in the text was practical.

Some of the chapters stress theory, others stress practice. Some serve as a bridge between theory and practice. "Unit One, Toward More Effective Communications," stresses theory. However the other four units, "Non-Projected Teaching Materials," "Projected Materials and Equipment"; "Audio-Materials-Equipment and Television"; and, "The School A-V Program in Action," stress theory and practice.

At the end of each section, direct references are made to correlate readings, to other references. There is a list of films and filmstrips related to specific chapters. The authors illustrate and clarify the use of audio-visual equipment with over 100 drawings and pictures. They, also, show the construction and operation of various types of audio-visual equipment through schematic drawings and illustrations.

The organization of, "A Manual of Audio-Visual Techniques," makes it ideally suited for short courses, workshops, or refresher courses. The authors have definitely made this text a

western allies in the prosecution of the war, problems and projects approach to developing audio-visual skills. It is comprehensive in scope, elementary in approach, and flexible in its use.

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Mt. Vernon, New York

The Russian Struggle for Power. A Study of Russian Foreign Policy during the First World War. By C. Jay Smith, Jr. New York: Philosophical Library, 1956. Pp. vii, 553. \$4.75.

Based mainly on a thorough examination of Russian diplomatic documents, this revealing book summarizes the war aims of the Tsarist government in World War I. As the autocratic ally of two western democracies, Great Britain and France, Russia sought the destruction of the Central Powers in the hope of dividing Europe into a Russian sphere and a Western sphere. Among other goals, she hoped to dominate Poland, to gain control of the Straits, and to extend her Transcaucasian possessions at the expense of the declining Ottoman Empire.

While trying to maintain unity with her

Russia frequently clashed with them over post-war territorial arrangements in the Balkans, Poland, and Asia Minor. She was naturally very sensitive about the Polish question, insisting that the final disposition of Poland be left solely in her hands. There were prolonged disagreements over the partition of the Ottoman Empire. In particular, Russian diplomats were very suspicious of British, French, and Italian designs in strategic areas of Asia Minor. Meanwhile, the Russian military disasters, coupled with the disintegration of the Tsarist regime, led British and French statesmen to fear lest their eastern ally enter into separate peace negotiations with the Central Powers.

As the author correctly points out, there are striking similarities between Tsarist policies of 1914-17 and those of Stalin between 1941-48. The book clearly demonstrates that Soviet imperialism, after all, is rooted in Tsarist traditions. In other words, Soviet domination of Eastern Europe is, to a large extent, a continuation of earlier Russian foreign policies. However, there is one important difference. Whereas Soviet ambitions are worldwide in scope, those of imperial Russia were largely limited to the peripheral areas.

While the author is primarily concerned with the basic foreign policies of Russia in World War I, he includes enough material to indicate the declining prestige of the Romanov dynasty. He has succeeded in giving his readers a clearer perspective of the continuity of Russian foreign policy.

RICHARD H. BAUER

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

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Helping Children Get Along in School. By Bess Goodykoontz. Chicago, Illinois: Science Research Association, Incorporated, 1955. Pp. 48, \$.50.

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